



*King William III.^d taking the
Coronation Oath of Scotland.*



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THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
CALLING of the PARLIAMENT in 1774.
ADORNED WITH PLATES.
IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES.

By JOSEPH COLLYER,
Author of the NEW SYSTEM OF GEOGRAPHY,
in Two Volumes Folio.

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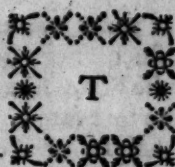
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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
E N G L A N D.



C H A R L E S II.

 HIS marriage gave great surprize to Lewis, who being accustomed to govern every thing in the English court, found so important a step taken, not only without his consent, but even without his knowledge. Charles entered into a consultation with the prince, together with Danby and Temple, on the terms that it would be proper to require of France; and negotiations were begun for concluding a peace.

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In these negotiations many difficulties arose, from Charles's lending an ear to the proposals of Lewis, who offered him great sums of money, if he would consent to France's making an advantageous peace with the allies. Temple, though pressed by the king, refused to have any concern in so dishonourable a negotiation, as that secretly carried on between Charles and the French king: but observes that the king said, there was one article proposed, which so incensed him, that he should never forget it as long as he lived. Sir William says no more; but Dr. Swift, the editor of his works, observes, that the French, before they would agree to any payment, required, as a preliminary, that the king should engage never to keep above 8000 regular troops in his three kingdoms; at which Charles broke into a passion, crying, "Cod's-fish, does my brother of France think to serve me thus?" "Are all his promises to make me absolute master of my people, come to this? Or does he think *that* a thing to be done with 8000 men?" However, the treaty of peace was at last signed at Nimeguen: for the fluctuations of Charles had given such distrust to the States, that they had agreed to terms favourable to France.

Lewis had now reached the height of the glory to which he aspired. His ministers and negociators appeared as much superior to those of all Europe in the cabinet, as his generals in the field. In proportion as these circumstances exalted the French, they excited the indignation of the English, whose animosity,
rouzed

rouzed by terror, rose to a great height against that rival nation. Charles, instead of taking the lead in the affairs of Europe, had, contrary to his own honour and interest, acted a part entirely subservient to the common enemy; and in all his measures, had either no views at all, or such as were highly criminal and dangerous. While Spain, Holland, the emperor, and the German princes, called aloud on England to lead them to victory and to liberty, her king, from mean pecuniary motives, had secretly sold his alliance to Lewis, and was bribed into an interest, contrary to that of his people. This was the opinion of the nation, at the conclusion of this peace.

We shall now return to the affairs of Scotland. A new parliament had been assembled at Edinburgh in 1669, and Lauderdale sent down commissioner. The zealous Presbyterians, who were the chief patrons of liberty, were unable to resist the measures of government; and Lauderdale had such influence as to get two acts passed, which were of the most fatal consequence to the religious and civil liberties of the kingdom. By the one it was declared, that whatever related to ecclesiastical meetings and affairs, was to be ordered according to such directions as the king should send to his privy-council; and that these, on being published, should have the force of laws. By the other act, the militia, which had before been established instead of the army which was broken, was settled at 22,000 men, who were to be constantly armed, and held in readiness

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to march into England, or any part of the king's dominions, on receiving orders from the privy-council of Scotland.

In a subsequent session of the same parliament, the most cruel laws were enacted against conventicles. Ruinous fines were imposed on the preachers and hearers, if they met in private houses; but those who frequented field conventicles, were subject to the penalty of death and confiscation of goods: four hundred marks, Scotch, were offered as a reward to those who should seize the criminals; and they were indemnified for any slaughter they might commit in doing it. By another law it was enacted, that whoever, on being required by the council, refused to give information upon oath against these conventicles, should be punished by arbitrary fines, by imprisonment, or by banishment to the Plantations. During Lauderdale's administration, all the lawyers were banished by the king's order twelve miles from Edinburgh, and the whole justice of the kingdom suspended for a year, till these lawyers were brought to declare, that all appeals to parliament were illegal. By a letter from the king, twelve of the chief magistrates of Edinburgh were turned out, and declared incapable of all public office, for no other crime, but want of compliance with Lauderdale; and one More, a member of parliament, having moved in the house, that, in imitation of the English parliament, no bill should pass till after three readings, he was, for this offence, immediately sent by the commissioner to prison.

Lauder-

Lauderdale's private deportment was as insolent as his public administration was tyrannical; and from his rapacity, and still more from that of his dutchess, all offices and favours were openly put to sale, and no remedy could be hoped for or obtained against his numerous oppressions. The following instance shews, that he was as destitute of truth and honour, as of justice and lenity.

Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, who, by his apostacy and rigour, had rendered himself extremely odious to the covenanters, was attempted to be shot as he was sitting in his coach, in 1668, by one Mitchell, a desperate fanatic; but the bishop of Orkney stepping into the coach, and happening to stretch out his arm, intercepted the ball, and his arm was much shattered. This happened in the principal street of the city; but the archbishop was so generally hated, that the assassin was allowed to walk away peaceably. Some years after Sharpe observing one who eyed him very eagerly, ordered the man to be seized and examined. Two loaded pistols were found upon him; and, as he was concluded to be the author of the former attempt, Sharpe promised, that if he would confess his guilt, he should be dismissed without punishment. His conjecture was just, and Mitchell was so credulous as to own his guilt; but the faithless primate immediately produced him before the council, who having no proof against him, from the hopes of involving the whole body of covenanters in this odious crime, solemnly renewed the promise

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mise of pardon, if he would make a full discovery: but, to their great disappointment, they found, upon his confession, that only one person, who was now dead, had been acquainted with his bloody purpose. Mitchell was next carried before a court of judicature, and required to renew his confession; but dreading, that though his life was preserved, he might suffer in his person, he refused compliance, and was sent back to prison. He was next examined by the council, under the pretence of his being concerned in an insurrection at Pentland; and though no proof appeared against him, he was put to the torture, and urged to accuse himself. He bore his pains with singular resolution, and persisted in the denial of a crime, of which it is believed he was not guilty. Instead of obtaining his liberty, he was sent to the Bass, a very high rock, surrounded by the sea; at this time converted into a state prison, full of the unhappy covenanters. He remained there in great misery, loaded with irons, till the year 1677, when he was brought before a court of judicature, and tried for attempting to assassinate an archbishop and a privy-counsellor. His former confession was pleaded against him, and was proved by the testimony of the duke of Lauderdale, lord Hatton, his brother, the earl of Rothes, and the primate himself. Mitchell maintained, that he had been engaged to make that confession, by a solemn promise of pardon. The four privy counsellors denied, upon oath, that any such promise had ever been given.

given. The prisoner then desired the council-books might be produced in court, and offered a copy of that days proceedings to be read; but the privy-counsellors maintained, that after they had made oath, no farther proof could be admitted. They were not, probably, aware, when they swore, that the clerk having ingrossed the promise of pardon, in the narrative of Mitchell's confession, the minute had been signed by the chancellor, and the proofs of their perjury committed to record. The prisoner was condemned, and the unrelenting primate insisting upon his execution, he was hanged at Edinburgh in January 1678.

The rigours exercised against conventicles, instead of breaking the spirits of the people, increased the fervour of their zeal, to link them more closely together, and to inflame them against the established hierarchy. The commonalty, particularly in the western counties, frequented conventicles without reserve, while this was connived at by the gentry. To interest these on the side of the persecutors, a bond was, by order of the privy-council, tendered to the landlords in the west, by which they were to engage, that in case any tenant frequented a conventicle, the landlord was to subject himself to the same fine, as could, by law, be exacted from the delinquent. But the greatest part of the gentry declaring, that it was iniquitous to make one man answerable for the conduct of another, refused to sign these bonds.

Lauderdale,

Lauderdale, enraged at this opposition, made an agreement with some highland chieftans to call out their clans, to the number of 8000 men, to which he joined the guards and militia of Angus, and sent them all to live at free quarters upon the lands of such as had refused the bonds illegally required of them. Thus a multitude, unaccustomed to discipline, and averse to the restraints of law, were let loose amidst those whom they were taught to regard as enemies to their prince and to their religion. Nothing escaped their ravenous hands: by hardships, and sometimes by torture, men were obliged to discover their concealed wealth. Neither age, nor sex, nor innocence, afforded protection; and the gentry finding, that even those who had subscribed the bonds, were alike exposed to the rapacity of those barbarians, were still more confirmed in their resolution to refuse them. After two months free quarter, the highlanders were sent back to their hills, loaded with the spoils and execrations of the people they had injured. Those who had been engaged to subscribe the bonds could find no security, but by turning out such tenants as they suspected to have an inclination to conventicles, and thereby depopulating their estates; and to increase the misery of these unhappy tenants, the council enacted, that none should be any where received, or allowed a habitation, who did not bring a certificate of his conformity from the minister of the parish. To prevent the cries of the oppressed people reaching the throne, the council forbade, under severe

severe penalties, all noblemen or gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom : a severe edict, more especially when the sovereign resides in a foreign country ! But notwithstanding this act of council, Cassil first, and afterwards Hamilton and Tweedale, went to London, and laid their complaints before the king : but he, after a full hearing, is said to have coolly answered, “ I perceive that Lauderdale “ has been guilty of many bad things against “ the people of Scotland ; but I cannot find “ that he has acted any thing contrary to my “ interest.” An expression unworthy of a king, as it shewed that he had no idea, that his interest, and that of his people, were inseparable.

In England the people had entertained such violent jealousies against the court, that some mysterious design was suspected in every enterprize. Arbitrary power and Popery, filled the anxious minds of the people with terror ; and while their jealousy and fears were thus agitated, they were suddenly alarmed with the cry of a plot, which filled the people with such a panic, that reason, argument, and common sense, lost all their influence ; and they were ready to believe the greatest improbabilities. The Popish plot is thought to have been contrived by Shaftesbury *, in order to bury the duke,

* Sir John Dalrymple says, it is much doubted whether Shaftesbury contrived the Popish plot, or if he only made use of it after it broke out : but some

duke, and perhaps the king, under the weight of the national fear and hatred of Popery; and, as it involved in it the assassination of Charles and his brother, an invasion, the conflagration of the city, and a massacre of the Protestants, was calculated, in its great lines, to gain the attention of the higher ranks of the nation; and by the familiarity and detail of its circumstances, to catch the credulity of the meanest of the populace.

As the king was walking in the Park, on the 12th of August 1678, one Kirby, a chemist, thus accosted him: "Sir, keep within the company, your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this very walk." On being asked the reason, he said, that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot the king; and Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. This, he said, had been communicated to him by Dr. Tongue, whom he would introduce to his majesty, if he would permit it. Tongue was a clergyman of the church of England, and brought papers to the king, which contained information of the plot, formed into forty-three articles. Charles, not having leisure to peruse them, sent them to Danby the treasurer, ordering the two informers to lay the business before that minister. Tongue told Danby, that the papers had been

some papers he had seen convinced him that he contrived it, though the persons he made use of as informers went beyond their instructions.

secretly

secretly thrust under his door, but that he suspected the author. He returned a few days after, and told the treasurer, that his suspicions were just; that he had met the author twice or thrice in the street, who had given him a more particular account of the conspiracy; but for fear of being murdered by the Papists, desired that his name might be concealed.

Tongue afterwards informed the treasurer, that a packet of letters, written by jesuits concerned in the plot, was that night to be put in the post-house for Windsor, directed to Bennefield, a jesuit, the duke's confessor. This being told to the king, he replied, that the packet had, a few hours before, been brought by Bennefield to the duke, who told him, that he suspected some bad design; that the letters appeared to contain matters of a dangerous import, and that he knew them not to be the hand-writing of the persons whose names were subscribed to them.

The king and the duke thought the whole a fiction, and the latter, on hearing that the priests, the jesuits, and even his own confessor had been accused, was desirous that the council should make a thorough enquiry into the pretended conspiracy. Kirby and Tongue were now found to live in close connection with Titus Oates, who had conveyed the first intelligence to Tongue. Oates maintained, that, being suspected by the jesuits, he had received three blows with a stick, and a box on the ear, from the provincial of that order, for revealing their conspiracy; and overhearing

them talk of punishing him more severely, he concealed himself from them. It also appeared, that though a secret was lodged in his breast, which involved the fate of the king and kingdom, he was suffered to live in great want. Oates, expecting more encouragement from the public than from the king or his ministers, thought proper, before he was brought to the council, to go with his two companions to Sir Edmonsbury Godfrey, an active justice of peace, to give evidence of all the articles of the conspiracy.

Oates informed Godfrey, and afterwards the council and parliament, of the following wonderful particulars. The pope, on examining affairs in the congregation *de propaganda fide*, had found himself entitled to the possession of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of the king and people; and having assumed the sovereignty of these kingdoms, had delegated the supreme power to the society of jesuits. In consequence of this grant, de Oliva, general of that order, had exerted every act of regal authority, and had created lord Arundel chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, Sir William Godolphin privy-seal, Coleman secretary of state, Langhorn attorney-general, lord Bellasis general of the papal army, lord Peters lieutenant general, and lord Stafford paymaster. All the dignities of the church were likewise filled, and many of them with Spaniards, and other foreigners. The provincial and jesuits had tried and condemned the king, whom they called The Black Bastard, as a heretic; and resolved

resolved to put him to death. Father le Shee ; for so he called Father la Chaise, the French king's confessor, had consigned 10,000 l. to be paid to any man who should assassinate him : a Spanish provincial had promised the same ; and the prior of the benedictines was willing to pay 6000 l. Ten thousand pounds had been offered to Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who demanded 15,000 l. which was complied with, and 5000 l. paid him in advance. Lest this should fail, the jesuits had employed four Irish ruffians, at twenty guineas each, to stab the king at Windsor. Grove and Pickering were also employed to shoot the king with silver bullets : the former was to receive 1500 l. the latter being a pious man, was to be rewarded with 30,000 masses, which, at a shilling a piece, amounted to a like value. The great fire of London had been the work of the jesuits, who had employed eighty or eighty-six persons for that purpose ; they had expended seven hundred fire-balls upon it ; and had been able to pilfer goods from the fire to the value of 14,000 l. Several other fires, which had happened since, were attributed to the jesuits. A paper model was already framed for the firing of London again ; in which the stations were regularly marked out, where the several fires were to begin ; and the plan of operations so concerted, that precautions were taken to vary their measures, according to the variations of the wind, and it was determined to burn all the chief cities in England. Besides, insurrections and massacres

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were projected in all the three kingdoms. There were 20,000 Catholics in London, who would rise in twenty-four hours, or less; and Jennison, a jesuit, said, that they might easily cut the throats of 100,000 Protestants. A general massacre of the Irish Protestants was concerted. Coleman had remitted 200,000 l. to promote the rebellion in Ireland; and the French king was to land a great army in that island. After all this havoc, the crown was to be offered to the duke, on condition that he received it as a gift from the pope; that he confirmed all the papal commissions for offices and employments; that he granted a pardon to the incendiaries and the murderers of his brother, and of the people; and that he consented to the utter extirpation of the Protestant religion; but if he refused these conditions, he was immediately to be poisoned or assassinated.

Oates, who here distinguished himself as an informer, was a most infamous wretch. He had taken orders in the church, and possessed a small living, but had been indicted for perjury. He was afterwards a chaplain on board the fleet, whence he had been dismissed for unnatural practices, unfit to be named. He then became a convert to the Catholics; but afterwards boasted, that his conversion was a mere pretence, in order to get into their secrets, and to betray them. He was sent over to the Jesuits College at St. Omers; from whence he was dispatched into Spain; and thence returned to St. Omers, where the jesuits dismissed him from their seminary. While in Spain, he
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said he had been carried to Don John, who promised to assist in the execution of the designs of the Catholics; but, on his being asked what sort of a man Don John was, he answered, a tall lean man, which was directly contrary to the truth. He even mistook the situation of the jesuits college at Paris; and though he pretended to be very intimate with Coleman, he did not know him when placed very near him. But the violent animosity which had been excited against the Catholics in general, made the public swallow the grossest absurdities, when accompanied by accusations against them; and the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it suited the tremendous idea entertained of a jesuit.

Accident after accident, in a surprizing manner, concurred to maintain the delusion. Coleman's letters were seized, which discovered, that the duke had been carrying on a correspondence with France, against the religion and interest of his country. In one of these letters it is asserted, that the king was always inclined to favour the Catholics, when he might do it without hazard; "Money, Coleman adds, cannot fail of persuading the king to any thing. There is nothing it cannot make him do, were it ever so much to his prejudice. It has such an absolute power over him, that he cannot resist it. Logic, built upon money, has, in our court, more powerful charms than any other sort of argument." This made the king a sharer in his brother's disgrace; but above all, the murder

of Godfrey, who, after being missing some time, was found with his breast beaten by a blunt weapon, his neck broken, and a sword run through his body. He had also a great deal of gold and silver in his pocket: whence it is evident, that he neither fell by his own hand, nor by those of robbers. His murder being therefore attributed to the papists, caused almost every Protestant to imagine that he felt the dagger in his breast. In order to complete the terrors of the people, the ghastly dead body, with the sword fixed in it; and lying on a bier, was exposed, during two days, in the public street. It was carried in procession through the city of London to the grave, as the remains of a martyr to the Protestant religion; seventy-two clergymen walking before, near a thousand persons of condition behind; innumerable crouds in a long silent order, an expression of passion more dangerous than that of clamour and confusion, bringing up the rear. All men astonished, shedding tears, and animated with rage, saw, in Godfrey's fate, all the horrible designs imputed to the Catholics, and no farther doubts remained of Oates's veracity. The voice of the nation united against that hated sect; and notwithstanding the bloody conspiracy was supposed to be now detected, men could scarcely be persuaded that their lives were yet in safety. Every hour teemed with new rumours and surmises. Invasions from abroad, insurrections at home, and even private murders were apprehended. To deny the reality of the plot, was to be an accomplice. It

was even criminal to hesitate: the royalists, the courtiers, the republicans, the churchmen, the sectaries, the patriots, all concurred in the illusion. The city prepared for its defence, as if the enemy were at its gates. No one doubted that the Papists had assassinated Godfrey; but as the particular actors were unknown, a proclamation was issued by the king, offering a pardon, and a reward of 500 l. to any who would discover them; and it being afterwards furnished, that the terror of a like assassination prevented a discovery, a new proclamation was issued, promising absolute protection to any who would reveal the secret.

While the nation was in this ferment, the parliament was assembled, and the cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other; and the authority of parliament gave sanction to that fury with which the people were already agitated. An address was voted for a solemn fast, and a form of prayer drawn up for that solemnity. Addresses were voted for laying before the house such papers as might discover the horrible conspiracy; for the removal of Popish recusants from London; for administering every where the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; for denying access at court to all unknown and suspicious persons; and for appointing the trained-bands of London and Westminster to be in readiness. The lords Powis, Arundel, Stafford, Peters and Bellasis, were committed to the Tower, and were soon after impeached for high treason. So vehement were the houses, that they sat every day,

day, in the forenoon and afternoon, on the subject of the plot; and a committee of lords was appointed to examine prisoners and witnesses. Oates, who, though his evidence were true, must, by his own confession, be an infamous villain, was applauded, caressed, and called the saviour of the nation. He was lodged in Whitehall, protected by the guards, and allowed a pension of 1200l. a year.

Such bountiful encouragement soon brought forth new witnesses. William Bedloe, who had travelled over many parts of Europe, under borrowed names; who had frequently passed for a man of quality, and, by a variety of lies and contrivances, had endeavoured to prey upon the ignorant and unwary, appeared before the council, and gave intelligence, that Godfrey had been murdered in Somerset-house, where the queen lived, by Papists, some of them servants in her family: but utterly denied all knowledge of the plot, and his having any acquaintance with Oates. Being examined the next day by the committee of lords, he be-thought himself better, and was ready to give an ample account of the plot, which he found so anxiously enquired into. This he made to tally as well as he could with that of Oates, which had been published; but added some other circumstances. He said, that 10,000 men were to be landed in Burlington-bay from Flanders, and immediately to seize Hull: that Jersey and Guernsey were to be surprized by forces from Brest: that the lords Powis and Peters were to form an army in Radnorshire, to
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be joined with twenty or thirty thousand religious men and pilgrims, who were to land from Spain at Milford-haven : that there were 40,000 men ready in London, besides those who would be posted at every alehouse door, in order to kill the soldiers as they came out of their quarters : that lord Stafford, Coleman, and father Ireland, had money sufficient to defray the expences of all these armaments : that the king was to be assassinated ; all the Protestants massacred, who would not be converted ; and the government offered to one, if he would consent to hold it of the church ; but if he should refuse that condition, as was suspected, the authority would be given to certain lords, nominated by the pope. In a subsequent examination before the commons, Bedloe added, that lord Carrington and lord Bradenell were also in the conspiracy, for raising men and money against the government ; and these noblemen, with all the other persons mentioned by Bedloe, were immediately committed by the parliament to custody.

It is remarkable, that Spain was so far from being in a situation to transport 10,000 men for the invasion of England, that she had solicited and obtained English forces to be sent into the garrison towns of Flanders, which were otherwise unable to defend themselves against the French, who were then in open war with Spain, and yet are supposed, solely on religious motives, to be engaged in the same design against England. But these circumstances were unable to gain the attention of the populace. Indeed,

Indeed, the torrent of national prejudices ran so high, that none, without the most imminent danger, dared openly to oppose it; nay, scarcely any one, without great strength of judgment, could even secretly entertain an opinion contrary to the prevailing sentiments. Even later historians, says Mr. Hume, have been so swayed by the concurring judgment of such multitudes, that some have thought themselves sufficiently moderate in affirming, that many circumstances of the plot were true, tho' some were added, and others greatly magnified. But it is certain, that a witness who per-jures himself in one circumstance, is incredible in all. The authority of the plot was founded entirely upon witnesses, even to the end of the prosecutions: though the Catholics had been unexpectedly detected, at the very moment when it was said the conspiracy was ripe for execution, no arms, ammunition, money, commissions, or letters, were ever discovered, after the most rigorous search, to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedloe; and even the manifold inconsistencies and absurdities contained in the narratives, instead of invalidating them, were only considered as slight objections, which would be fully removed by a more complete information.

Though the king, wherever he could speak freely, threw the highest ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed it; yet he found it necessary to adopt the popular opinion before the parliament. He perceived, that the torrent was too strong to be stemmed; and hoped to be
able,

able, after some time, by a seeming compliance, to direct and elude its fury. He therefore made a speech to both houses, in which he assured them, that during these times of danger, he would take the greatest care of his person; that he was as ready as their hearts could wish, to join with them in all means for establishing the Protestant religion, not only during his own life, but for all future ages; and that, provided the right of succession was preserved, he would consent to any laws for restraining a Popish successor: he exhorted them to think of effectual means for the conviction of Popish recusants; and concluded with praising the duty and loyalty of his subjects, who had shewn such anxious concern for his safety.

Upon this a bill was introduced for a new test; and all members who refused it, were excluded from both houses. The bill passed the commons without much opposition; but, in the upper house, the duke moved for an exception in his favour. With great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he said, That he now cast himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern he could have in this world; and protested, that whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul; and should never appear in his public conduct. Yet notwithstanding this, he prevailed only by two voices.

Though Oates and Bedloe had often declared, that they knew of no other person of distinction concerned in the plot; they now accused

cused the queen herself, of entering into the design against the life of her husband. The king, it was well known, had not the least affection for his consort, and had now greater reason than ever to be desirous of issue, which might quiet the jealous fears of his people, from the apprehension of the duke's succeeding to the crown; and nothing farther seemed necessary for him to get rid of the queen, and to enable him to marry another, than to give way to the rage and fury of the nation. But notwithstanding all the allurements of pleasure and interest, he resolved to protect his consort. "They think," said he, "I have a mind to have a new wife; but for all that I will not see an innocent woman abused." He instantly ordered Oates to be strictly confined, seized his papers, and dismissed his servants; upon which that bold informer was obliged to apply to parliament, to recover his liberty.

In the mean time Montague, Charles's ambassador at Paris, had procured a seat in the lower house, and, without the king's leave, came over to England. Charles, struck with apprehensions, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague having foreseen this, had taken care to conceal one paper, which he instantly laid before the house of commons. It was a letter from the treasurer Danby, written, during the negotiations at Nimeguen, for the general peace; and contained, among other particulars, these words: "In case the conditions of peace shall be accepted, the king expects to have six millions of livres a year
" for

“ for three years, from the time that this agreement shall be signed between his majesty and the king of France ; because it will, probably, be two or three years before the parliament will be in a humour to give him any supplies, after the making of any peace with France ; and the ambassador here has always agreed to that sum, but not for so long a time.” As Danby was unwilling to engage in this negociation, Charles, to satisfy him, added these words with his own hand, “ This letter is writ by my order. C. R.”

Upon this the commons were greatly inflamed ; and concluded, that the king had all along acted in concert with the French court ; and that every step he had taken, in conjunction with the allies, had been illusory and deceitful. Being desirous of getting to the bottom of so important a secret, they immediately impeached Danby for high treason, and sent up six articles to the house of peers, the principal of which was, that he had treacherously engrossed to himself regal power, by giving instructions to his majesty’s ambassadors, without the participation of the secretaries of state or the privy-council. Danby, however, made it appear to the house of lords, not only that Montague, the informer against him, had all along promoted the money negociations with France, but that he himself had been always extremely averse to the interest of that crown, which he esteemed pernicious to his master and to his country. The French nation, he said, had always entertained, as he was certainly in-

formed, the highest contempt, both for the king's person and government. Hence the house of peers refused to commit Danby: the commons insisted on their demand; and a great contest being likely to ensue, the king, who had been greatly displeased with the parliament, thought proper to prorogue them; and this prorogation was soon after followed by a dissolution, on the thirtieth of December 1678: an imprudent measure, which threw a new election into the hands of the people, at a time when their passions were all in a flame. This parliament had sat during the whole course of his reign, one year excepted: and being elected during the joy and festivity of the restoration, it consisted almost entirely of royalists, who were disposed to support the crown with the utmost liberality: but alarmed by the king's intrigues with France, they gradually withdrew their confidence from him; and finding that he still persevered in a foreign interest, inconsistent with that of England, they were justly filled with the utmost jealousy.

In the mean time, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on; while the courts of judicature were infected with the same party rage and bigotted prejudices as the rest of the nation. Coleman being first brought to his trial, his letters were produced against him, which contained, as he himself confessed, much indiscretion; but seemed to prove nothing criminal against him. Oates and Bedloe deposed, that he had received a commission, signed by the superior of the jesuits, to be the Popish secretary

cretrary of state; and had consented to the poisoning, shooting, and stabbing of the king; which being confounded with his letters, he received sentence of death, which was soon after executed upon him; but he to the last persisted in the strongest protestations of his innocence.

Father Ireland was next tried for having signed, together with fifty jesuits, the resolution of murdering the king; and at the same time were tried Grove and Pickering, who had undertaken to shoot him. The only witnesses against the prisoners were Oates and Bedloe. Ireland brought good evidence to prove, that he was in Staffordshire all the month of last August, when Oates's evidence made him in London. He had also been iniquitously debarred, while in prison, of the use of pen and ink; and denied the liberty of sending for witnesses. These men, even before their arraignment, were condemned in the opinion of the judges, jury, and spectators; for their being jesuits, was to them a sufficient proof of their guilt. The chief justice, instead of being council for the prisoners, as his office required, brow-beat their witnesses, and represented their guilt as certain and indisputable. When the jury brought in their verdict against them, he said, "You have done, gentlemen, like very good subjects, and very good Christians; that is to say, like very good Protestants: and now much good may their thirty thousand masses do them;" alluding to the masses by which Pickering was to be rewarded, for

murdering the king. All these unhappy men went to execution attesting their innocence.

Hill, Berry, and Green, were tried for Godfrey's murder; and though the testimony of the witnesses was invalidated by the most convincing contrary evidence, the prisoners were condemned and executed. They all denied the crime at their execution; and as Berry died a Protestant, this, instead of giving any check to the general credulity of the people, only filled them with surprize, that a Protestant should be induced, at his death, to persist in so manifest a falsehood.

As the king was in great want of money, he was obliged to summon a new parliament. The election was carried on by a violent contest between the parties; and the courtiers exerted themselves greatly, in the choice of the national representatives; but all their efforts were fruitless; for the religion, liberty, property, and even the lives of the people were now supposed to be at stake. Charles was alarmed, and became fully sensible of his error, in dissolving the long parliament. In order to repair it before the new parliament met, he urged his brother, and sent some of the bishops, to persuade him to conform to the church of England, but in vain. He then privately prevailed with the lady Powis, to entreat the duke, in the name of her husband, and of four other Popish lords, who had been committed to the Tower, on account of the Popish plot, to go abroad, in order to take off the rage of the public against those lords: but the duke

duke refused to yield to her request. The king at last ordered him to go, and he obeyed with reluctance : but asked leave to take his daughter Anne with him, which was refused. He then desired a declaration from the king, that he had never been married to Monmouth's mother, which was granted. The duke's exile was partly owing to the advice of Danby, to remove the imputation of the king's being governed by Popish councils ; but more by the persuasions of the dutchess of Portsmouth, whom Shaftesbury flattered with the hopes of a parliamentary settlement of the crown upon the duke of Richmond, her son.

In the mean time the national ferment was increased, by a new person starting up. This was James duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. He possessed all the qualities proper to engage the affections of the populace : he had a graceful person, and was brave, generous, affected popularity, and was tenderly beloved by his father. He had spent a part of his youth at Oxford, and another part in the army ; so that he had the advantages of private friendships joined to those which attend upon royal extraction. His tutor, one Ross a Scotchman, inflamed his mind with high ambition, by making him believe, or persuading him to make others believe, that the king had been privately married to his mother. Ross even prevailed on Cosins, bishop of Durham, to write a certificate of the marriage, and to deposit it in a strong box in his own


house; by observing, that if the duke of York should be converted from Popery, there would be no need of bringing the certificate to public view; and if he should not, that all arts were justifiable to exclude a Papist from the throne: circumstances which Cosins immediately communicated to the king, but which that prince disregarded. Yet, after Cosins's death, Ross spread a report, that he had left such a certificate behind him*, and this intelligence was greedily received by the multitude.

The new parliament revived the impeachment of Danby, though the king had beforehand, the precaution to grant him a pardon. In vain did the king tell the parliament, that as Danby had acted in every thing by his orders, he was in no respect criminal; and that if his pardon should be found defective, he would renew it again and again, till it should be rendered entirely complete: but that he was resolved to deprive him of all employments, and to remove him from court. The commons still insisted on Danby's impeachment, and the peers now ordered him to be taken into custody. Danby absconded, and the commons passed a bill, appointing him to surrender before a certain day; or, in default of it, attainting him. Upon which Danby, rather than undergo the severe penalties of an attainder, appeared, and was immediately committed to the Tower.

* Sir John Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain*, Vol. I. p. 47.

Mean while the credit of the Popish plot still stood upon the oaths of a few infamous witnesses. Though immense preparations were supposed to have been made throughout the kingdom, no traces of them, after the most strict enquiry, as yet appeared. Though so many thousands, both at home and abroad, had been represented as engaged in the dreadful secret, neither hope, fear, remorse, levity, nor private resentment, had induced any one to confirm the evidence. And though the Catholics, particularly the Jesuits, were represented as guilty of such indiscretion, as to talk of the king's murder as common news, and to write of it in plain terms, by the common post; yet among the great number of letters seized, no one contained any part of so complicated a conspiracy. Notwithstanding this, the prosecution, and farther discovery of the plot, were still the objects of general concern; and the commons voted, that if the king should come to an untimely end, they would revenge his death upon the Papists. They promised rewards for new discoveries; made Bedloe a present of 500 l. and recommended the care of his safety to the duke of Monmouth.

The king, by the advice of Sir William Temple, had formed a new council, which seemed, at first, to give some satisfaction to the public. But notwithstanding this the commons soon after voted, that the prospect of the duke's succession to the crown, was the cause of the Popish plot; and it being expected, that the bill for excluding him would soon be brought
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in, the king, to prevent it, concerted some limitations, which he proposed to the parliament, by which a method was chalked out, to ensure such a parliament as the king should not, for a certain time, have it in his power to dissolve. In case of a Popish successor, the prince was to forfeit the right of conferring ecclesiastical preferments; no member of the privy-council, no judge of the common-law, or in chancery, was to be put in or displaced, but by consent of parliament; and the same precaution was extended to the military part of the government, to the lord lieutenant and deputy-lieutenants of the counties, and to all officers in the navy.

The duke was extremely alarmed, when he heard of this step taken by the king, which he thought even worse than the bill of exclusion itself, as he imagined that could never be carried into execution.

However, such a violent antipathy prevailed against Popery, that the king's concessions, though much more important than could have been reasonably expected, were not embraced; and a bill was brought in for the total exclusion of the duke from the crown. It was declared, that the sovereignty of these kingdoms, upon the king's death or resignation, should devolve to the person next in succession after the duke; that all acts of royalty, which that prince should afterwards perform, should not only be void, but be deemed treason; that if he even entered any of these dominions, he should be esteemed guilty of the same offence; and

and that all who supported his title, should be punished as rebels and traitors. This important bill passed the lower house, by a majority of seventy-nine.

Among the acts passed by this parliament, in favour of liberty, was the *habeas corpus* bill; and we at present owe our absolute security from arbitrary imprisonment, chiefly to the patriots of that parliament. The great charter had laid the foundation of this inestimable privilege; the petition of right had renewed and extended it; but some provisions were still wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evasion or delay, from ministers and judges. By the act of *habeas corpus*, it was prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea. No judge, under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the jailor is directed to produce in court the body of the prisoner, and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment. If the jail lies within twenty miles of the judge, the writ must be obeyed in three days, and so proportionably for greater distances: every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term; and no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the same offence.

During these zealous efforts for the protection of liberty, the impeachment of the five Popish lords in the Tower, with that of the earl of Danby, was carried on with vigour. This minister's power and credit with the king, rendering

rendering him extremely obnoxious to the popular leaders, who hoped, that if he were pushed to extremity, he would be obliged, in order to justify his own conduct, to lay open the whole intrigue of the French alliance, which they suspected to contain a secret of the most dangerous nature; while the king, apprehensive of the same consequences, employed his whole interest to support the validity of the pardon he had granted him. The commons demanded that the bishops, whom they knew to be devoted to the court, should be removed, when the validity of his pardon should be discussed. The house of lords opposed this; and a quarrel being commenced between the two houses, the king, without consulting his new councils, by whose advice he had promised to regulate his whole conduct, dissolved the parliament, and writs were issued for a new one.

During the recess of parliament, there was no interruption to the prosecution of the Catholics accused of the plot. Whitebread, provincial of the jesuits, with Fenwick, Gavan, Turner, and Harcourt, all of them of the same order, were first brought to their trials. Besides Oates and Bedloe, Dugdale, a new witness, appeared against the prisoners; and asserted, that 200,000 Papists in England were ready to take arms. The prisoners proved, by sixteen witnesses from St. Omers, most of whom were men of family, that Oates was in that seminary at the time when he swore that he was in London: but as they were the disciples of the jesuits, their testimony was totally disregarded

garded both by the judge and jury. In order farther to discredit Oates, the jesuits proved, by undoubted testimony, that he had perjured himself in father Ireland's trial, whom they shewed to have been in Staffordshire at the very time when Oates swore he was in London. But these pleas were of no avail against the general prejudices. They received sentence of death, and were executed, persisting in the most solemn and earnest protestations of their innocence. Next was tried Langhorn, an eminent lawyer, who managed all the concerns of the jesuits. Oates and Bedloe swore, that all the papal commissions, by which the chief offices in England were filled by Catholics, passed through his hands. The witnesses in behalf of this unhappy man, on approaching the court, were extremely ill used by the rabble; and when the verdict was given against him, the spectators expressed their savage joy, by loud acclamations. Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who was accused of an intention to poison the king, was, however, acquitted.

We shall now return to the affairs of Scotland. The great discontents in England, excited the hopes of the covenanters, and gave them some prospect of putting an end to the oppressions under which they laboured. The covenanters were much enraged against Sharpe, the primate, who had not scrupled to perjure himself, in order to gratify his unrelenting disposition, and was a severe persecutor of all who dissented from the new established worship.

ship. Carmichael, one of his officers, had also, by his violent persecutions, rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the covenanters. A company of these way-laid the archbishop, near St. Andrews, on the third of May 1679; and while they were looking out for him, were surprized at seeing his coach come up, while almost all his servants were, by some accident, absent. This they considered as a proof, that heaven had delivered him into their hands; and, without farther deliberation, fell upon him, dragged him from his coach, tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interposed with her cries and tears; and piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the spot, and then dispersed.

The murder of Sharpe had excited an universal joy among the covenanters; and this cruel action served the ministry as a pretence for carrying on a more violent persecution against them. The officers quartered in the west received more strict orders to find out and disperse all conventicles; on which account the covenanters, instead of meeting in small bodies, were obliged to celebrate their worship in numerous assemblies, and to carry arms for their security. At Rutherglen, near Glasgow, they published a declaration against prelacy, and burned in the market-place several acts of parliament and of council, which had established that form of ecclesiastical government.

A great conventicle upon Loudon-hill, was soon after attacked by captain Graham, afterwards viscount Dundee; but they repulsed him,

him, and slew thirty of his men. The covenanters, by this action, were obliged to persevere, and to seek, from their valour and fortune, that security which the severity of the government left them no hopes of obtaining. They therefore pushed on to Glasgow; and though at first repulsed, made themselves masters of that city; dispossessed the established clergy; and issued proclamations, declaring, that they fought against the king's supremacy, against popery, prelacy, and a popish successor. Charles, on hearing this, immediately dispatched Monmouth with a small body of English cavalry; which being joined to the Scottish guards, and some regiments of the militia of that kingdom, marched with great celerity in quest of the rebels. They had taken post at Bothwell bridge, between Hamilton and Glasgow, where there was no access to them but over the bridge, which a small body was able to defend; but had been joined by none of the nobility, and by few of the gentry: their army amounted to about 8000 men; and the clergy were, in reality, the generals. On the twenty-second of June Monmouth attacked the bridge, and the covenanters defended it as long as their ammunition lasted; but when they sent for more, they received orders to quit their ground, and to retire backwards. This imprudent step occasioned their defeat. Monmouth passed the bridge without opposition; drew up his forces opposite to the enemy; and his cannon alone put them to flight. About seven hundred fell in the pursuit, and

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twelve hundred being taken prisoners, were treated by Monmouth with great humanity. Those who would promise to live peaceably, were dismissed; and about three hundred, who were so obstinate as to refuse this easy condition, were shipped for Barbadoes, but unfortunately perished in the voyage. Two of their clergy were hanged. Monmouth, who was of a generous disposition, was desirous of being popular in Scotland. He had married a Scotch lady, the heiress of a great family, allied to all the chief nobility, and the king then intended to intrust him with the government of that kingdom.

In the mean time Charles fell sick at Windsor; and his life being thought in danger, all ranks of men were seized with a general amazement, which was encreased by the apprehensions they entertained of his successor. It was feared, that the malecontents would immediately kindle a civil war, and either their entire success, their failure, or even the balance and contest of parties, seemed events equally fatal. Essex, Halifax, and Sunderland, who were then the king's chief counsellors, stood on bad terms with Shaftesbury and the popular party; they therefore persuaded the dutchess of Portsmouth, to propose to the king to send for his brother; and she being sensible, that this was not the time for the success of her views for her son, readily agreed to the proposal. Charles was pleased with her project, and the duke hastened over; but finding his brother out of danger, offered instantly to return. The king
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was affected at seeing him ; and the weakness of his spirits added tenderness to his mind. The duke of Monmouth, while he was hunting in the park, heard, for the first time, of the duke's return. He hastened back to the palace ; and, in an unguarded transport, reproached the king with concealing from him the invitation he had given. Charles was struck with the contrast between the submission of a brother, and the presumption of a son. With some warmth, he commanded the duke of Monmouth to go into that banishment, from which he seemed so unwilling to relieve his uncle. Monmouth, in haughty terms, refused obedience, and withdrew. But the next day the two dukes having agreed, that, in order to prevent discord in the court and the nation, both should retire abroad. Monmouth submitted to the king, and left the court. After this Charles persuaded the duke of York to continue in England ; but the duke urging his promise to Monmouth, it was privately resolved between them, that after the duke had remained a short time abroad, he should petition the king for leave to reside in Scotland, which should be complied with. Monmouth fixed his residence in Holland, where he professed his attachment to the prince of Orange. The duke of York returned to Brussels ; and in a few months after came to England, and then moved his court into Scotland.

Though Essex and Halifax had concurred in procuring the duke's return, they had not obtained his confidence ; and the king shewing,

that he had no regard for their persons. Essex, in disgust, resigned the treasury: Halifax retired to his country-seat, and Temple withdrew almost entirely to his books and his gardens. The king, who changed both his ministers and measures with great indifference, bestowed his chief confidence on Hyde, Sunderland, and Godolphin. As the elections for the new parliament had gone mostly in favour of the country party, he prorogued the parliament, without the advice of his council; and though he had promised never to embrace any measure without their approbation, he had often controuled their opinion. This induced many of them to throw up in disgust, particularly lord Russel, the most popular man in the nation, on account of his mildness, integrity, and zealous attachment to the religion and liberties of his country. Shaftesbury, who was of an opposite character, was removed by the king from the office of president of the council; and the earl of Radnor substituted in his room.

At this time one Dangerfield, who had been burned in the hand, transported, whipped, pilloried, fined for being a cheat, outlawed for felony, and convicted of coining, was the author of what was called the *Meal-Tub-Plot*, from the place where some papers were concealed and found. It is difficult to discover the bottom of this affair. It only appears, that Dangerfield, under the pretence of betraying the conspiracies of the Presbyterians, had been countenanced by some Catholics of rank, and even

even been admitted to the presence of the king and the duke; and that, under the pretence of revealing new Popish plots, he had obtained access to Shaftesbury, and some of the popular leaders. Which side he intended to cheat is uncertain, or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both. However, a great clamour was raised, as if the court, by way of retaliation, had intended to load the Presbyterians with the guilt of a false conspiracy.

Charles, during eighteen months, avoided assembling the new parliament, and employed the intermediate space in securing a great part of the nation, in defence of his brother and himself. The leaders of the popular party, during this interval, counteracted his measures. Monmouth, who was the idol of the people, partly upon his own account, but still more upon account of the hatred they bore his uncle, returned from beyond sea, without leave, soon after the duke of York returned to court; and was received by the people with those triumphs, which were no longer bestowed upon the king. He made a progress through a great part of the kingdom, as if he had been a candidate for future sovereignty; wherever he went, he was treated as if he was already in possession of it; and was met at Taunton by near 30,000 persons, mostly on horseback. In order to keep up the spirits of the people, Shaftesbury, at the head of a band of nobility and gentry, presented the duke of York as a Popish recusant, at the bar of the king's bench; and a project was formed to impeach him.

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Seventeen peers, in a body, presented to the king a petition to assemble the parliament. Addressees followed for the same purpose, from a great number of counties, boroughs, and different bodies of men. These Charles counteracted, by procuring addressees from his party, which contained the highest regard to his majesty, and the deepest abhorrence of those who endeavoured to encroach on his prerogative, by prescribing to him any time for assembling the parliament. Hence the whole nation came to be divided by the invidious names of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrrers*; names which were, however, soon forgot; and the same year, 1680, was remarkable for being the epocha of the well known epithets of *Whig* and *Tory*; by which the nation has been so long divided. The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of whigs; and the country party found a resemblance between the courtiers and the Popish banditti in Ireland, who were distinguished by the name of tories: thus these terms of reproach came into public and general use.

The duke of York, alarmed with the appearance of an approaching commotion at the meeting of the parliament, to bar an impeachment, asked a pardon from his brother; but Charles, from a regard to his own dignity, and even that of the duke, gave him a refusal; and the very day before the meeting of parliament, he once more sent him into exile. The place fixed for his residence was Scotland. The
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measure was resolved upon in the council against the opinion of the other counsellors, by the advice of Sunderland, Godolphin, Essex, and Halifax ; but it was chiefly owing to the secret persuasions of the dutchess of Portsmouth, who was impelled by fear for her lover, her dislike of the duke, and her fondness for her son, the duke of Richmond.

The king used every art to encourage his partizans, and to please the people, by affecting a great zeal against Popery, which he carried so far, as to allow several priests to be put to death, for their having received orders in the Romish church. It is said, that one of them, called Evans, was playing at tennis, when the warrant for his immediate execution was notified to him, and swore that he would play out his first set. Charles, with the same view of acquiring popularity, entered into an alliance with Spain, and offered to form one with Holland : but the Dutch, terrified at the power of France, and having little hope of Charles's assistance, declined accepting it.

The parliament were no sooner assembled, than they voted, that it was the undoubted right of the subject to petition the king for the calling and sitting of a parliament, and seized those abhorers, who, in their addresses to the crown, had expressed their disapprobation of these petitions. In less than a week after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for bringing in a bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne ; and a committee was appointed for that purpose. The debates

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bates were carried on with great violence on both sides ; and the bill of exclusion having passed the commons, they sent it by lord Russell to the lords. The king expected to oppose it with success in the house of peers, and a violent contest arose on its being debated. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex argued for it ; and the debate against it was chiefly conducted by Halifax, who displayed an extent of capacity, and a force of eloquence, which had never been surpassed in that assembly. The king was present during the whole debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night, when the bill was thrown out by a considerable majority ; all the bishops, except three, voting against it : for, besides the influence of the court over them, they pretended, that the church of England was in greater danger from the prevalence of Presbyterianism than of Popery ; which, though secretly favoured by the duke, and even by the king, they observed, was repugnant to the genius of the people.

The impeachment of the Catholic lords in the Tower was now revived ; and it was determined to make lord viscount Stafford the first victim. The clamour and outrage of the populace, during the trial, was very violent : the prisoner, who was ancient, infirm, and of a narrow capacity, made a better defence than was expected either by his friends or his enemies. He represented, that during a course of forty years, from the very commencement of the civil wars, he had, through many dangers, difficulties, and losses, still maintained his loyalty ;

ty; and asked if it was credible, that now, when he was in his old age, easy in his circumstances, but dispirited by infirmities, he should belye the whole course of his life, and engage against his royal master, from whom he had received kind treatment, in the most desperate, and most bloody of all conspiracies? He remarked the infamy of the witnesses, the contradictions and absurdities of their testimony; the extreme indigence in which they had lived, though they pretended to be engaged in a conspiracy with kings, princes, and nobles; the credit and opulence to which they were at present raised. With a simplicity more persuasive than the greatest oratory, he made protestations of his innocence, and every moment expressed his surprize and indignation at the audacious impudence of his accusers. Yet the peers, after a solemn trial of six days, gave sentence against him by a majority of twenty-four voices. On hearing the fatal verdict, he only exclaimed, "God's holy name be praised!"

This nobleman prepared for death with an intrepidity which became his birth and station. His mind seemed even to collect new force, from the violence and oppression under which he laboured. On his going to execution, he called for a cloak, to defend him from the rigour of the season. "Perhaps, said he, I may shake with cold; but I trust in God, not for fear." On the scaffold, he continued with reiterated and earnest asseverations, to make protestations of his innocence. He solemnly disavowed all those immoral principles which
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the too great zeal of the Protestants ascribed, without distinction, to all of the church of Rome; and hoped, he said, that when the present delusions should be dissipated, the force of truth would engage the whole world to do justice to his injured honour.

The populace, who had exulted at his trial and condemnation, now melted into tears; and their profound silence was only interrupted by sighs and groans: they with difficulty found speech to assent to the protestations of innocence he frequently repeated, by saying, "We believe you, my lord! God bless you, my lord!" The executioner himself was so touched with compassion, that he twice lifted up the axe, in order to strike the fatal blow, and as often felt his resolution fail. A deep sigh was heard to accompany his last effort; and all the spectators seemed to feel the blow. Pity, remorse, and astonishment had taken such possession of every heart, that when the head was held up to them, with the usual exclamation, "This is the head of a traitor," no clamour of assent was uttered. Thus died the earl of Stafford, on the twenty-ninth of December, 1680; and this was the last blood shed on account of the Popish plot: an incident, which, for the credit of the nation, it would be better to bury in eternal oblivion, did not the truth of history render it necessary, to warn posterity against so barbarous and shameful a delusion.

The hardest part of this old and innocent nobleman's fate, says Sir John Dalrymple, was to fall unprotected by his sovereign, and a vic-
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tim to his sovereign's mistress, both of whom knew that he was guiltless. The dutches of Portsmouth, in the rage of her disappointment, because the exclusion had not succeeded, attended the trial, dealing sweetmeats and smiles amongst his persecutors.

The commons now passed a bill for easing the Protestant Dissenters, and for repealing the persecuting statute of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth; and this laudable bill was likewise carried through the house of peers. The commons also proceeded to bring in bills of an important nature; one to renew the triennial act, which had been inadvertantly repealed in the beginning of this reign: a second, to make the office of judge, during good behaviour: a third, to declare the levying of money without consent of parliament, to be high treason; and a fourth, to order an association for the safety of his majesty's person, the defence of the Protestant religion, with the preservation of the Protestant subjects against all invasions and oppositions whatsoever; and the preventing the duke of York, or any Papist, from succeeding to the crown. But though the king presumed that the peers, who had before rejected the exclusion bill, would refuse their assent to these, he resolved to prevent that hazard by proroguing the parliament; and having entered the house of peers, on the tenth of January, 1681, he passed some laws of small importance; but the bill for the relief of the Dissenters, by repealing the act of the thirty-fifth of Elizabeth, he privately ordered the clerk of the crown not

to present to him ; and dissolved the parliament without signing it.

Soon after, the king summoned a new parliament to meet at Oxford ; a place as remarkable for its loyalty, as the city of London, from its wealth and love of liberty, had, ever since the conquest, been for opposition to arbitrary power. The change of place could not, however, change the humours of men ; and the whig party spread abroad, that it was not safe for them to assemble in a place so remote from the great seat of the Protestant interest, where they might be assassinated even by the Papists in the king's guards. Sixteen peers petitioned the king against the place of assembly ; and the rest of the popular party, either pretending fears or really feeling them, came to Oxford with great numbers of their friends and armed men in their trains. Hence a panic struck all around the king, and the king himself entered a town filled with gowmsmen, attended with an unusual number of guards. The commons were not over-awed by the magisterial air of the king's speech. They consisted almost entirely of the same members as had sat before ; they chose the same speaker, and instantly fell into the same measures ; the impeachment of Danby, the persecuting statute of Elizabeth, the enquiry into the Popish plot, and the bill of exclusion. So violent were they on this last article, that no expedient, however plausible, could gain their attention ; Charles therefore dissolved the parliament, a few days after it was assembled, and published an appeal to the people, against the
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the proceedings of that assembly. This was the fourth parliament, which, in the course of two years, he had dissolved in anger.

This step, together with the general belief that the king would never summon another parliament, excited such astonishment in the country party, as deprived them of all spirit, and reduced them to absolute despair. The court party gathered strength from the dispersion and astonishment of their antagonists. The violence of the exclusionists were every where exclaimed against and aggravated. In return to Charles's appeal to his people, addresses were sent from every part of the kingdom, testifying disapprobation of the proceedings of the late parliaments; and even treating parliaments themselves with irreverence. The whigs did not oppose those addresses, either from the sudden dejection under which they laboured, or because they knew that addresses are, in Britain, generally produced by party and example; but are seldom the voice of the nation, or of reason. The moderate friends of liberty were displeased with both parties; with the violent whigs, for having refused the king's offer of limiting his popish successors; and with the tories, for rejoicing in the king's resolution to assemble no more parliaments.

Prosecutions were now commenced against those who had lately given disturbance to the king. Shaftesbury was sent to the Tower, upon a charge of having instigated insurrections. Colledge, a London joiner; Rouse, another mechanic, and several others, were seized as

persons who had been prevailed upon, by his instigations. Colledge had been in Oxford, armed with a sword and pistol, during the sitting of the parliament; and it was pretended, that a conspiracy had been entered into, to seize the king's person, and detain him in confinement, till he should make the concessions demanded of him. Bethel and Cornish, the two sheriffs of London, being in opposition to the court, nominated a grand jury, who rejected the bill against Colledge. He was therefore sent to Oxford, where the treason was pretended to be committed, and a packed jury was assembled, consisting entirely of royalists. Colledge defended himself with spirit, capacity, and presence of mind, and though he invalidated the evidence of the crown, by convincing arguments and undoubted testimony; yet the jury, after half an hour's deliberation, brought in a verdict against him; upon which the inhuman spectators gave a shout of applause. At his execution, he maintained the same manly fortitude, and denied the crime with which he was charged. It is remarkable, that most of the witnesses made use of against the prisoner, were the very men who had before given evidence against the Catholics, and whom the jury, for that very reason, regarded as the most perjured villains. The crown afterwards commenced a prosecution for high treason against Wilmore, who had been foreman of the London jury, which acquitted Colledge; and when the prospect of success in that prosecution failed, a new one, for a trifling misdemeanor,

meanor, was directed against him, which ended in a fine of 10,000 l. This sentence was published in the Gazette, as if government had gloried in making private injustice the instrument of public vengeance.

Before the dissolution of the last parliament, Fitzharris, a man of family in Ireland, shewed Everard a libel which he was writing against the royal family. Everard betrayed his friend, by revealing the secret to Sir William Waller. The crown prosecuting Fitzharris at common law for this libel, he informed the popular leaders, that the king had employed him to write and disperse it among the popular party, and then to fix the crime of both upon them. The house of commons, in order to save Fitzharris, and to convert his intelligence into evidence, impeached him before the house of lords: but they refused to receive the impeachment. Afterwards, upon the dissolution of the parliament, Fitzharris finding himself at the king's mercy, turned against his former friends, and gave information, that the popular party had employed him to forge his former story, in order to blacken the king: but notwithstanding this, he was executed: after which, the court published a declaration, made by him the night before he died, attested by a clergyman of the church of England, with a design to support the odious imputation against the whigs. On the other hand, that party, in order to fix it upon their opponents, printed an account of his declarations, during his imprisonment, attested by the city magistrates. Thus the in-

tended supporters of religion, of public peace, and of justice, were alike brought forward, in the most awful scenes, to serve as the instruments of party and defamation.

The death of this villain was attended by that of Oliver Plunket, the most innocent of men, and titular Popish primate of Ireland, whom Charles, in order to carry on the affectation of his belief of the Popish plot, had permitted, even after the dissolution of the parliament, to be tried and executed in London, for a pretended plot in Ireland.

Lord Shaftesbury, who had been injured from his youth to faction and intrigue, was, however, acquitted by the grand jury; though the king was so earnest to have him condemned, that he himself pressed captain Wilkinson, an old republican officer, then a prisoner for debt in the Fleet, to inform against that nobleman, who was his friend and benefactor: but he refused; reflecting, by the dignity of his conduct, upon the want of it in the king.

About this time, a scheme of oppression was laid against the earl of Argyle, who, though his father was head of the covenanters, had constantly adhered to the royal cause; and tho' he could not go all lengths with the court, always appeared, even in his opposition, of a peaceable deportment. A parliament being summoned at Edinburgh, in this summer, 1681, a test was enacted, which all persons, possessed of offices, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, were bound to take. In this test, the country party proposed to insert a clause, expressing the per-
son's

son's adherence to the Protestant religion. This was opposed by the courtiers, who observed, that as a requisite mark of respect, all the princes of the blood should be exempted from taking that oath. This was zealously opposed by Argyle, who observed, that the sole danger to be dreaded for the Protestant religion, must proceed from the perversion of the royal family; by which means, he drew upon himself the secret indignation of the duke of York. On Argyle's taking the test as a privy-counsellor, he subjoined, in the duke's presence, an explanation, which he had before communicated to that prince, and which he believed to have been approved by him. In it were these words: "I take this oath, as far as
 " it is consistent with itself and the Protestant
 " religion; and declare that I mean not to
 " bind myself in my station, and in a lawful
 " way, from wishing and endeavouring any
 " alteration, which I think to the advantage
 " of church or state, and not repugnant to the
 " Protestant religion and my loyalty: and this
 " I understand as a part of my oath."

The duke heard these words with great tranquility; no offence was taken at them; and Argyle was admitted to sit that day in council. But a few days after, that nobleman was surprized to find, that a warrant was issued for committing him to prison; that he was indicted for high treason, leasing-making, and perjury; and that from these innocent words, an accusation was extracted, by which he was to forfeit his honours, life, and fortune. Even the ap-

pearance of justice were here not assumed; and the forms of law only retained to sanctify, or rather aggravate the oppression. Three judges did not scruple to find the prisoner guilty of treason, and leasing-making: a jury of fifteen noblemen, gave their verdict against him; and the king, on being consulted, ordered the sentence to be pronounced; but its execution to be suspended till farther orders. The duke and his creatures pretended that Argyle's life and fortune were not in danger; and that the sole reason for proceeding to such extremities against him, was to make him renounce some hereditary jurisdictions, which gave his family a dangerous authority in the highlands, and obstructed the course of public justice. But supposing the end to be justifiable, the means were infamous; and not only inconsistent with a free, but even a civilized government. This nobleman, therefore, having no longer reason to trust to the justice or mercy of his enemies, escaped from prison, by changing cloaths with his sister, and concealed himself, during some time, in London, till he could find a ship ready to sail for Holland. The king heard of his lurking places, yet would not allow him to be arrested; but his estate was confiscated, and his arms reversed and torn.

The news of Argyle's punishment no sooner reached England, than it filled the exclusionists with anxiety for their future fate; and as Argyle had been distinguished by his sufferings, on account of his loyalty, many of the royalists had the mortification to find, that no
past

past services would atone for the want of the most implicit obedience to the duke, whose administration in Scotland, against the Presbyterians, was a continuation of the rigours of Lauderdale, who had reduced the people to the most abject slavery.

As Charles no longer dreaded the country party, he permitted the duke to pay him a visit; and was soon after prevailed on to allow him to bear a part in the administration of England. The duke left the authority in Scotland in the hands of the earl of Aberdeen, the chancellor, and the earl of Queensbury, the treasurer, who behaved in the most arbitrary manner. Every man was bound to declare to the government, his suspicions of his neighbours; and to converse with a rebel, was considered as a proof of being a rebel. Courts of judicature were erected in the southern and western counties; and a strict inquisition carried on against this new species of crimes. The Presbyterians, alarmed at the tyranny, from which no man was safe, began to think of leaving the country; and some of their agents were sent to England, to treat with the proprietors of Carolina for a settlement in that colony. Above two thousand persons were outlawed, under the pretence of their conversing with rebels; and these were continually hunted in their retreats by soldiers, spies, and informers. It was usual to put ensnaring questions to such people as lived peaceably in their own houses, and to ask, "Will you renounce the covenant? Was the killing of the bi-
" shop

“shop of St. Andrews murder? Do you esteem the rising at Bothwell to be rebellion?” And even when they refused to answer, capital punishments were inflicted on them; and for this pretended crime, even women were brought to the gibbet. A number of fugitives, exasperated by oppression, had published a seditious declaration, renouncing their allegiance to Charles Stuart, whom they termed a tyrant. This incident induced the privy-council to disperse soldiers over the country, and to give power to all commission officers, even to the lowest, to oblige every one they met to abjure the declaration; and upon refusal, instantly, without any farther questions, to shoot them. It would be endless to enumerate all the instances of absurd and cruel tyranny, which, at that time, prevailed in Scotland.

The tyrannical administration in Scotland was, in part, owing to the temper of the duke, to whom the king had consigned the government of that nation, and who applied with such attention to affairs, as to suffer nothing to escape him; and from the same cause, the government of England began to be infected with the same severity. Though the duke was neither so much beloved nor esteemed as the king, he was more dreaded at court; and thence was more exactly attended, and a more obsequious submission was paid him. Hence Waller remarked, that Charles, out of spite to the parliament, who had determined that the duke should not succeed

reed him, was resolved that he should reign even in his life-time.

However, the king, who loved to maintain a balance in his councils, still supported Halifax, created him a marquis, and made him privy-seal, though he always opposed the duke. Sunderland, who had been displaced for promoting the exclusion-bill, was again, with the duke's consent, brought into the administration; and Hyde, who was entirely in the duke's interest, was created earl of Rochester, and made first commissioner of the treasury.

The king himself acted at the head of a party; which, in a prince, is always the source of injustice and oppression. As he knew the dissenters were obnoxious to the church, he, to please his friends, caused the laws against conventicles to be again rigorously executed; tho' he knew that it would neither diminish their numbers nor their influence. The court and church party, who were now named on juries, made justice subservient to their factious views; and it was not long before the effects of these alterations were seen. When it was first reported, that the duke intended to leave Scotland, Pilkington, who was at that time sheriff of London, is said to have exclaimed, "He has already burned the city; and he is now coming to cut all our throats?" For this he was sued by the duke, and though the evidence was very defective, he obtained 100,000*l.* damages. Sir Patience Ward, who had been formerly mayor, and had given evidence for Pilkington, was sued for perjury, and condemned

demned to stand in the pillory : a sentence sufficient to deter any one from appearing in favour of a person prosecuted by the court.

Though the crown had obtained so great a victory in the city, by its having sheriffs ready to pack juries to gratify the court, yet it could not be considered as entirely decisive, since the contest between the court and city might be annually renewed, at the election of its magistrates. A project was, therefore, formed, for making the king master of the city, and, by its example, of all the corporations in England ; and, by this means, to give the greatest wound to the legal constitution, which had ever yet been inflicted by the most powerful and most arbitrary monarchs. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued, in 1683, against the city, to enquire into the validity of its charter ; it being pretended, that the city had forfeited all its privileges, on account of two offences committed by the court of aldermen and common council. After the fire of London, in 1666, all the markets had been rebuilt ; and to defray the expence, the magistrates had imposed a small toll on those who brought goods to market ; and, in 1679, the magistrates had petitioned the king against the prorogation of parliament, and had made use of the following terms : “ Your petitioners are greatly surprized at the late prorogation, whereby the
“ prosecution of the public justice of the kingdom, and the making of necessary provisions for the preservation of your majesty and
“ your Protestant subjects, have received interruption.”

“ interruption.” This was pretended to contain a scandalous reflection on the king and his measures.

Treby and Pollexfen defended the cause of the city, against the attorney and solicitor-general. They pleaded, that a corporation, as such, was incapable of all crime or offence; and that none were answerable for any iniquity, but the persons themselves who committed it: that corporate bodies, framed for public good, and calculated for perpetual duration, ought not to be annihilated for the temporary faults of their members; and that even a private estate, if entailed, could not be forfeited to the crown, on account of treason committed by the tenant for life: that the offences objected to the city, were so far from deserving so severe a punishment, that they did not merit the smallest reprehension: that all corporations were invested with the power of making by-laws; and the city having, at its own expence, repaired the markets, which were also built on its own estate, might as lawfully claim a small recompence from those who brought commodities thither, as a man might require rent for his house; and whoever paid, had done it voluntarily: that it was an avowed right of the subject to petition, and that the city had not, by their address, abused this privilege; since the loyalty of the city, no less than their regard to self-preservation, might prompt them to frame it; and that it was unaccountable that two public deeds, which, during so long a time, had not subjected the persons who committed

committed them, even to the smallest penalty, should now be so severely punished upon the corporation, which always was, and always must be, innocent.

The city was, however, condemned on the twelfth of June 1683 : but the judges of that time held their places during pleasure ; and it was impossible, that any cause the court was resolved to prosecute, could ever fail ; for the judges, influenced by a wicked court, paid not the least regard to the principles of justice and equity. After sentence was pronounced, the city made an humble application to the king, who agreed to restore their charter ; but obliged them to submit to the following regulations : that no mayor, sheriff, recorder, common-serjeant, town-clerk or coroner, should be admitted to the exercise of his office, without his majesty's approbation : that if the king disapproved twice of the mayor or sheriffs elected, he might appoint their magistrates ; that the mayor and court of aldermen might, with his majesty's leave, displace any magistrate ; and that no alderman, in case of a vacancy, should be elected, without consent of the court of aldermen, who, if they disapproved twice of the choice, might fill the vacancy.

The fate of London having shewn all the corporations in England, how vain it would be for them to contend with the court, they were most of them successively induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring

storing them ; and all offices of power and profit, left to the disposal of the crown. Thus were the liberties and privileges of the nation openly invaded, by such measures as might enable the king, under the like pretences, and by means of the like instruments, to seize upon every privilege that remained ; and every friend to liberty must allow, that the nation, when the whole constitution lay at the mercy of the king, had a right to form plans of resistance, in order to recover that security, and those blessings, of which it was unhappily deprived, and to preserve the few that remained.

While the duke in Scotland, and the king in England, were pursuing these measures, in order to bend the minds of the people in both kingdoms, under the most abject subjection, there was a band of friends, who having long opposed the measures of the king in a legal way, prepared to seek relief, where freedom points it out to her friends, when the voice of the laws is put to silence. They observed, that the king, by securing the juries in the city, had now at his mercy the lives of all who had hitherto exposed themselves to his displeasure, by struggling for the liberties of their country. By the disuse of parliament, he prevented their having recourse to constitutional remedies ; while the duke, by bending the martial spirits of the Scotch, would render them the instruments of tyranny against the English. What was left for freemen, in order to recover their freedom, but resistance ? They were called upon by the principles of defence ;

they were commanded, by their duty to their country, to prevent the blow which princes, who aimed at arbitrary power, perhaps already meditated against both them and their country, and it was glorious to oppose that power, tho' they should perish in the attempt.

This band of friends was composed of lord Russel, illustrious from the nobility of his descent; of Hampden, who derived still greater lustre from his grandfather, the commoner; of lord Essex, the friend of Russel; and of Algernoon Sidney, who derived his blood from a long train of English nobles and heroes, and his sentiments from the patriots and heroes of antiquity. Lord Howard, who had sat as a commoner in one of Cromwell's parliaments, was introduced into the same council. Their sentiments in politics were, in general, the same; and they believed, that their objects were also the same, though they were very different. Russel, Essex, and Hampden, intended to make no farther use of an insurrection than to exclude the duke of York, and to fix the barriers of the constitution with precision. Sidney aimed at the destruction of monarchy, and to found on its ruins his adored republic. Howard, with luxuriant wit and eloquence, adopted the views of each particular person, and incited all to vigour and action; feeling for moments what they felt through life. Mean while Monmouth hoped, amidst the public distraction, to pave the way to the throne. Tho' these persons disliked Shaftesbury, they all, except Sidney, entered into a communication of measures

measures with him ; because they stood in need of his vast party in the city. These were joined by lord Grey, who was endowed with a knowledge of letters and arts, but had a soul void of virtue, he having been found guilty of debauching his wife's sister, a man from whose life no generous enterprize was expected : by Sir Thomas Armstrong, who was equally careless, but less vicious : by Trenchard, who had made the motion for the bill of exclusion in the house of commons : by major Wildman, a violent republican : by Rumsey, one of Cromwell's colonels, a brave blunt soldier ; and by Ferguson, a Scotch parson, remarkable in all plots for serving his party and saving himself.

Without explaining themselves to each other, upon the ends they proposed, they agreed upon an insurrection ; and plans were laid of bringing a Scotch army into England, and of risings in several places, but no measures taken ; at which Shaftesbury was so exasperated, that abandoning all hopes of success, he retired to Holland, where he died soon after.

Mean while some of the inferior conspirators, tired with delays, and exasperated at having their ardour checked, unknown to Ruffel, Sidney, Essex, Hampden, and the principal friends of liberty, entered into a combination to assassinate the king and duke ; and after proposing several other places, fixed upon a farm, called The Rye-house, between London and Newmarket, where the road being narrow, it would be easy, by overturning a cart, to stop the coach, in which the king and the duke usu-

ally returned from Newmarket to London; and for one party to fire upon them from the hedges, while embarrassed in the passage, while another was encountering the guards. But while they were taking measures to execute this project, the king's house at Newmarket accidentally took fire, which obliged him to return to London sooner than was expected; and this bloody scheme was disappointed.

It is amazing that secrets, known to so many, not only of the great, but of the meanest of the people, men of the most disorderly passions, should so long lie concealed. At length one Keyling, a falter, in the beginning of June 1683, gave information of the assassination-plot to Sir Leoline Jenkins, secretary of state. Some of his associates observed him waiting about Whitehall, and charged him, at one of their meetings, with having been there. One of them instantly prepared to dispatch him; but the rest being moved by his tears and oaths of fidelity, prevented him. Keyling now ran directly from the meeting to the secretary's office, where the sight of the terrors, under which he still shook, instantly removed all suspicion of his sincerity. Upon his information, some of the lower class of the assassins were seized, and rewards published for seizing the rest. But as these knew nothing of the cabal of their superiors, and their superiors knew as little of theirs, the great men continued in their houses, filled with anxiety rather than fear.

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At last colonel Rumsey surrendered himself, and became evidence; and lieutenant-colonel Walcot wrote a letter to the secretary of state, in which he also offered to make a discovery, and gave information of their meeting at Shepherd's, a wine-merchant in the city; and Shepherd being sent for, told all he knew, and confirmed the evidence of Rumsey.

The trial and condemnation of these criminals, was, probably, intended as a preparative to the trial of lord Russel. That nobleman was found sitting in his study; and knowing how obnoxious he was to the duke, immediately gave up all hopes of life. When brought before the council, he refused to answer any thing that might effect others. Lord Grey being next taken, denied all he knew, with imprecations; and the same night found means to make his escape from the hands of the messenger. Essex was at his country-seat when he heard of his friends fate; but when pressed by those around him to make his escape, he answered, That his own life was not worth saving, if, by drawing suspicion upon lord Russel, he could bring his life into danger. Monmouth had absconded; but actuated by Essex's generous motive, sent a message to Russel, that he would surrender himself and share his fate, if it would be of any use to him: but Russel answered, "It will be no advantage to me to have my friends die with me." The anxiety of Howard, who ran about denying the truth of the conspiracy, and protesting his innocence, caused him to be suspected. He was found hid

in a chimney, covered with soot. He shook, sobbed, and cried; and when brought before the king and council, stood for a while silent, the effect of stupor: but recovering himself, he desired to speak in private with the king and duke; and falling on his knees to them, uttered all he knew. From his information, Essex, Sidney, Hampden, Armstrong, and many others, were seized. Sidney appeared before the council with a simplicity of behaviour, that discovered neither the signs of guilt, nor the affectation of innocence; and refusing to answer the questions put to him, told them, if they wanted evidence against him, they must find it from others, not from himself. Life was offered to Baille, of Jervieswood, if he would turn evidence; but he smiled, and said, "They who can make such a proposal to me, know neither me nor my country."

When Russel was brought to his trial, he desired that it might be deferred till the next day, because some of his witnesses could not arrive in town till evening; but this was refused. Having asked leave of the court, that notes of the evidence might be taken for his use by another hand, the attorney-general told him, he might use the hand of one of his servants, if he pleased. "I ask none, said Russel, but that of the lady who sits by me;" at which the spectators turning their eyes, beheld the daughter of the virtuous Southampton, rising up to assist her lord, in this his utmost distress, when a thrill of anguish ran through the assembly. Howard was the chief witness against

against him. Russel heard him without signs of emotion; though when the report of the death of lord Essex, whose throat was cut in the Tower, was brought into court; and being whispered from ear to ear, at last reached him, he burst into tears. Jeffreys, in his speech to the jury, turned the untimely fate of Essex into a proof of his consciousness of the conspiracy, in which both friends had been engaged. Pemberton, however, who presided as chief justice, behaved to the prisoner with a candour and decorum seldom found in the judges of this or the next reign. To render the indictment more extensive, the intention of murdering the king was comprehended in it; and for a proof of this intention, was assigned the conspiracy for raising a rebellion. The artificial confounding of the two species of treason, was the chief, but not the only hardship, of which Russel had reason to complain on his trial. In his defence, he did not avow the intended insurrection, lest it should hurt his friends who remained to be tried; but contented himself with protesting, that he had never entertained any design against the king's life. However, the jury, after a short deliberation, brought him in guilty.

Russel was flattered by some divines with hopes of life, if he would acknowledge to the king, that he believed subjects had, in no case whatsoever, a right of resistance against the throne: but he answered, "I can have no conception of a limited monarchy, which has not a right to defend its own limitations,"
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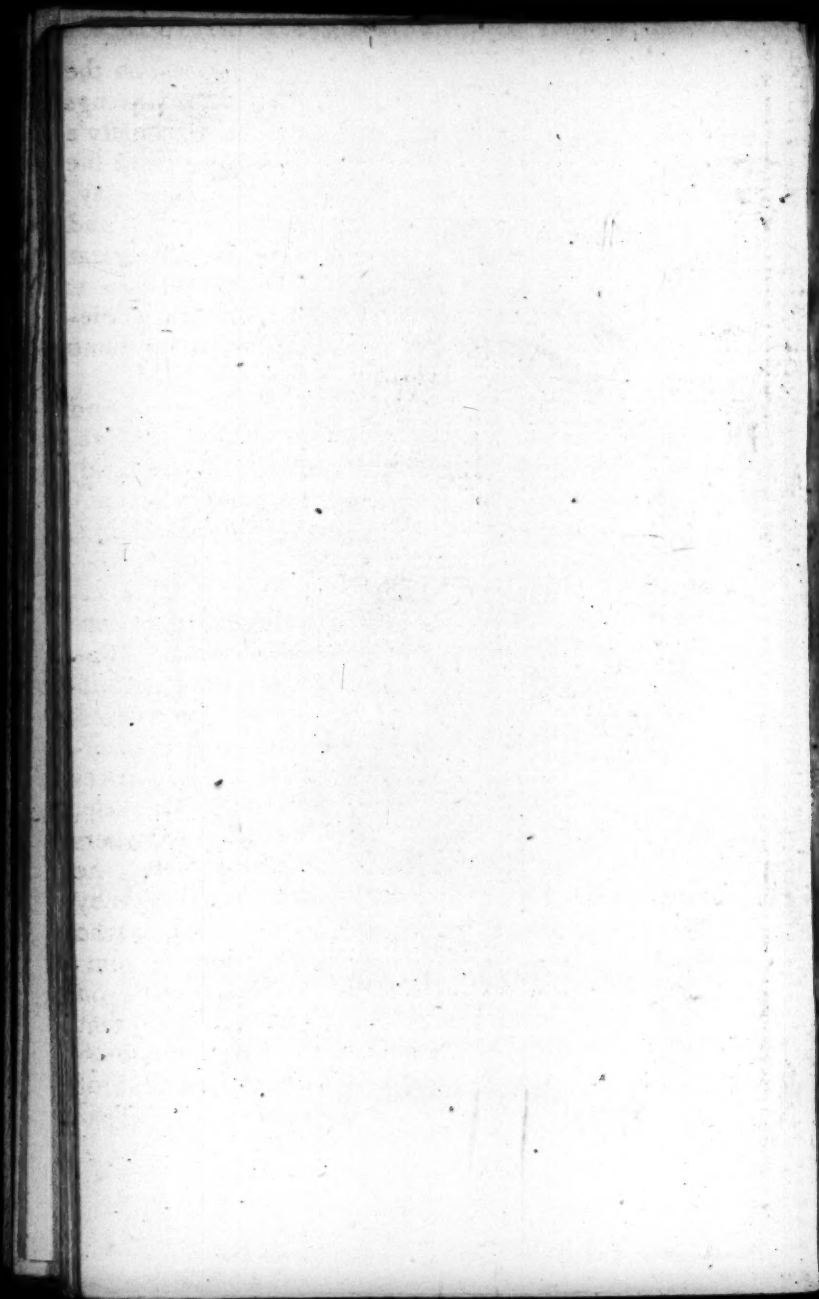
“ My conscience will not permit me to say otherwise to the king.” Charles, by the duke of York’s advice, refused 100,000 l. which the old earl of Bedford offered for his son’s life; an advice which the duke had afterwards reason to repent. The king had no feeling for an object far more affecting: the daughter and heiress of the good earl of Southampton, threw herself at his feet, and pleaded, with many tears, the merits and loyalty of her father, as an atonement for the errors into which honest, however mistaken principles, had seduced her husband. Charles was inexorable. When finding all applications vain, she collected courage, and not only fortified herself against the fatal blow, but endeavoured, by her example, to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate husband.

Lord Cavendish had lived with Russel in the closest intimacy, and did not desert him in his present. He offered to procure his escape, by changing clothes with him, and to run the hazard of staying in his place; but Russel refused to save his own life, by an expedient that might expose his friend to many hardships.

Russel, during his trial, at his death, and, in a more severe test of his fortitude than either, his parting with his wife and infant children, and with his friend lord Cavendish, preserved the dignity of his rank and character. With a deep and noble silence; with a long and fixed look, in which were expressed respect and affection, unmingled with passion, lord and lady Russel parted for ever. His eyes followed hers while



LORD RUSSEL.



while she quitted the room; and when he lost sight of her, turning to the clergyman who attended him, he cried, "The bitterness of death is now past." The observation, says an ingenious author, was just: for the fate of the survivor was more hapless; who, though she seemed to assume more pride from her condition in public, lost her sight by continual weeping in private; and calling often for death, could never find it, till an extreme old age, laid her for ever, by the partner of her soul*.

A little before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch, saying, "now I have done with time, and henceforth must only think of eternity." The execution was performed the 21st of July, 1683, not on Tower-hill, but in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; in order that the citizens might be humbled by seeing their once triumphant leader, carried in his coach to death, through the city. But it produced an effect contrary to what was intended: the multitude imagined they beheld virtue and liberty sitting by his side. In passing, he looked towards Southampton house, when the tears started into his eyes; but he instantly wiped them away. On the scaffold he prayed for the king; but with a prescience of what afterwards happened, he foretold, "that though a cloud hung over the nation, his death would be of more service to his country than his life could have been." Without the least change of countenance, he laid

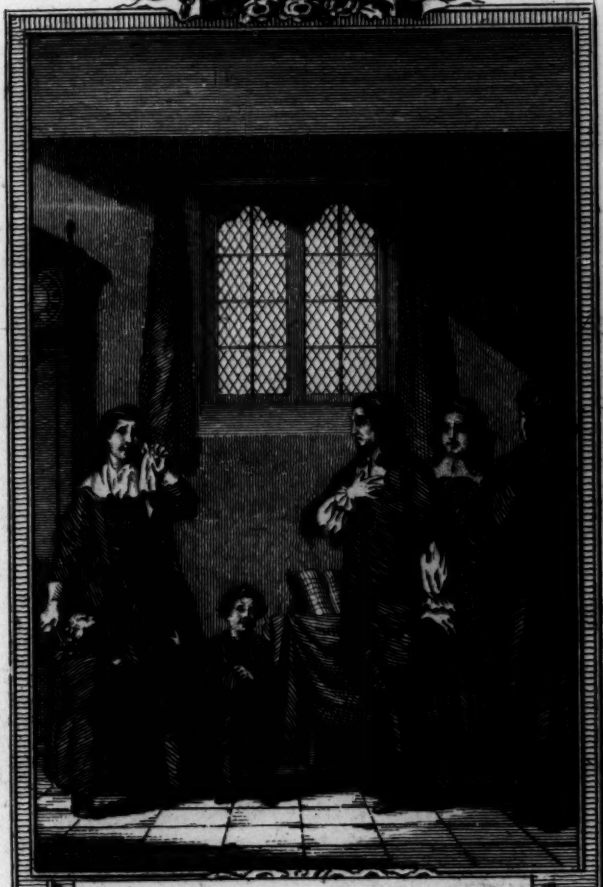
* She died at eighty-seven years of age.

his head on the block ; and, at two strokes, it was severed from his body.

In a paper he delivered to the sheriff, he cleared his memory of the imputation of having ever intended the king's death. Honour and friendship attended him beyond the grave : lord Cavendish joined the hand of his eldest son in marriage, to one of the daughters of his deceased friend. That noble lord was, in the next reign, fined 30,000 l. for turning out of the presence chamber a gentleman who had affronted him ; and though his mother offered to pay the fine, by discharging 60,000 l. which the family had advanced to James's father and brother, in their greatest extremities, her offer was rejected.

Before Sidney was brought to his trial, Pemberton was removed, both from the head of the king's bench, and from the privy-council, and Jeffreys was put in his place ; a man distinguished by the fierceness and brutality of his manners ; and a packed jury, composed of mean persons, was chosen to ensure his condemnation. Algernon Sidney* was fifty-nine years of age, his hair white, and his health broken. The only witness who deposed against him was lord Howard ; but as the law required two witnesses, a strange expedient was fallen upon to supply this deficiency. In ransacking the prisoner's closet, some discourses on government were found, and Jeffreys declared from the bench

* He was the second surviving son of Robert, earl of Leicester.



J. Wale

*The parting of Lord & Lady Russel
before his execution.*

J. Collyer

Published Decr 1. 1774.

to the jury, that these were sufficient in law to supply the want of a second witness; though the papers were totally unconnected with the conspiracy, and contained only sentiments worthy of the greatest legislator of antiquity. Through the whole of this trial, the outrages against law disgraced the judicial records of a country, in which the life of the subject is better protected than in any other upon earth. Sidney collecting all the powers of his mind, answered the brutality of Jeffreys with decent, but severe sarcasms; and while that arrogant judge gave false colours to the law, Sidney removed them by questions which admitted of no answer, or by self-evident proposition, on which all could form a judgment. When the court would have persuaded him to make a step in law, which he suspected was meant to hurt him, he said, with a moving simplicity, "I desire you will not tempt me, nor make me run on dark and slippery places: I do not see my way." Sidney having observed, that only partial passages of the writings produced against him, were quoted, and using some warmth in defence of the writings themselves, Jeffreys, in hopes of drawing him to confess his being the author, handed him the papers, and desired him to take off the force of the passages, by any others in the book; but though Sidney saw the snare, he pretended not to see it; and turning over the leaves with a seemingly grave attention, returned them to the bench, saying, "Let the man who wrote these papers, reconcile what is contained in them." Howard's depo-

depositions being finished, Sidney was asked what questions he had to propose to him? When, turning from Howard with a look of disdain, he answered, with an emphatical brevity, "None to *him*! But, on his making his defence, he raised a storm of indignation and contempt against that nobleman, who had received from him great obligations, as a wretch abandonned by God and man, profligate in his character, bankrupt in his fortune, and who owed him a debt, which he meant to extinguish by his death. In a cursory way, he mentioned his having saved Charles's life; but spoke of it as a thing from which he assumed no merit, but only as the common duty of a man.

Lord Russel's fate had been determined in two days; but Sidney prolonged his trial three weeks; and even when brought up to receive his sentence, he repeated and insisted upon almost every plea which had been over-ruled. He had the art, during the whole of the trial, to draw down unjust repulses upon himself; and thus to make the odium of the crime charged against him, be forgot, in that which he raised against his judges and his prosecutors. When Withens, one of the judges, gave him the lie, he disregarded it as an injury done only to himself; but at last, Jeffreys interrupting him while he was urging a plea, he cried out, "Then I appeal to God and the world, I am not heard;" and refused to defend himself any longer. When sentence was past, he made this pathetic exclamation: "Then, O God!
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ALGERNON SYDNEY.

“ O God ! I beseech thee to sanctify these sufferings to me, and impute not my blood to my country, nor to this city, thro’ which I am to be carried to death. Let no inquisition be made for it : but if any shall be made, and the shedding of innocent blood must be revenged, let the weight of it fall on those who maliciously persecute me, for righteousness sake.” Jeffreys, starting from his seat, exclaimed, that the prisoner’s reason was affected ; but Sidney calmly stretched out his arm, and desired him to feel if his pulse did not beat at its ordinary rate.

He afterwards sent a petition to the king, in which, instead of applying for mercy, he, in a manly strain, demanded only justice ; represented the injuries which had been done to the laws in his person, and desired to be brought to the royal presence, to shew the king how much his own interest and honour were concerned, in giving him that redress, which his judges had refused.

Sidney went to his death, on the 17th of December, 1683, with an air of grandeur. He walked with a firm step ; he asked no friend to attend him ; and only borrowed two of his brother’s footmen to walk behind him. He ascended the scaffold with the erect posture of one who came to harangue or to command, not to suffer. Englishmen, says an animated author, wept not for him, as they had done for lord Russel : their pulses beat high ; their hearts swelled ; they felt an unusual grandeur and elevation of mind, while they looked upon him.

him. He told the sheriffs who had returned a packed jury against him, that it was for their sakes, and not for his own, that he reminded them, that his blood lay upon their heads. Being asked, if he had any thing to say to the people, he cried, " I have made my peace with God, and have nothing to say to man." Then, after a moment's pause, added, " I am ready to die, and will give you no farther trouble;" and then hastened to the block. These were the only words he uttered in public: but he left his last thoughts behind him in writing with his friends, because these he knew would remain: thoughts, which the government took pains to suppress, and which, for that reason, were more greedily demanded by the people. This paper was calculated to keep alive the spirit of liberty. He confuted the testimonies on which he had been condemned; and mingling his own wrongs, in the course of his trial, with those of his country, laid down those great and generous principles of political society, which, a few years after, were made the foundation of the revolution*.

Hamp-

* The above account of the trial and execution of these illustrious patriots, is chiefly extracted from Sir John Dalrymple's memoirs of Great Britain: a gentleman who seems to be inspired with the love of freedom; yet on the flimsy credit of a letter or two from Barillon, in the *Depôt des affaires etrangeres* at Versailles, has too hastily represented the lord Russel as intriguing with, and Algernoon Sidney, as taking money from the court of France.

This

Hampden's life was, probably, saved by the unpopularity, which Sidney's trial brought upon government, as Howard was the only witness against him, he was only tried for a mis-

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demeanor;

This intrigue was to counteract those which Charles had entered into with Lewis, to render him absolute master of Great Britain, and Popery the established religion of these kingdoms: this, every friend of liberty, and every zealous Protestant, was bound, by his duty to his country and his God, to prevent, by every means in his power; and as Lewis, now convinced that it was not for his interest that Charles should be absolute, had discontinued his pension, and resolved to perplex his councils, to prevent what would be of prejudice to himself, as well as destructive to the liberty of England, they ought not surely to be blamed, even supposing the fact to be true: but there is the greatest reason to believe, that the whole charge is false, and that Sir John himself was deceived, as he acknowledges he has been in other of his authorities. Whoever considers the nature of the evidence; one single interested, unprincipled man, who wrote a hundred years ago; the opportunity of interpolating; the inclination some might have to set the British friends of liberty in an odious light, from their implacable aversion to the Protestant religion and the rights of subjects; and the recent instance of Lauder, who, in the last rebellion, printed a work to prove Milton a plagiarist in his *Paradise Lost*; quoted interpolated passages from several authors to prove it; and then boasted, among his friends, of the service he had done to the person he called prince Charles, by letting down the character of so great a champion of liberty: whoever considers all this, I say, can give no credit to such testimony, unsupported by the least circumstance that

can

demeanor ; but was fined in the exorbitant sum of 40,000 l.

Armstrong, who had made his escape, had been out-lawed, but was seized abroad, and brought to England before the expiration of the year allowed by law for a surrender. Holloway, one of the subordinate conspirators, was in the same situation. But that trial which was granted to Holloway, because there was sufficient evidence against him, was refused to Armstrong, because there was not. Jeffreys refused a trial to Armstrong, under the pretence, that his appearance in court, by com-

can be deemed collateral evidence. Many other arguments might be urged, to convince a person of the least discernment, of the absurdity of the two charges against these illustrious patriots, who were distinguished by their being possessed of every virtue. No other evidence has dared to assert, that the brave, the generous, the noble-minded Sidney, received money from the French king but Barillon, who, if the great Sidney's name was not foisted into his letter, to mislead posterity, can here deserve no credit ; for, as the French minister came to England poor, but returned rich, it is more reasonable to conclude, that he secreted what he placed to that great man's account, and wrote a falsehood, in order to encrease his fortune and his importance, by imposing on his master. While, therefore, the law ordains, that the meanest and most profligate wretch shall not be condemned without the testimony of two witnesses ; let not the great and virtuous Sidney be twice condemned on the testimony of one : his life on that of an unprincipled Howard, and his glory on that of a Barillon.

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pulsion, was not equivalent to a voluntary surrender: a pretence equally good against both, or against neither. Armstrong desired that his council might be heard upon the plea of his right to a trial. Even this request was refused; and on his saying, that he only asked the common benefit of the law, he was answered by Jeffreys, "You shall have that, indeed: by the grace of God, you shall be executed upon Friday next: you shall have the full benefit of the law."

Bailey of Jervieswood was sent into Scotland; and there written depositions, contrary to the laws of that country, were read to the jury in court; these had been partly extorted by torture out of court, and partly transmitted from the records of the state trials in England. Being broken with infirmities, he was executed on the very day he was condemned, lest a natural death should have prevented his being publicly executed. Several others suffered death in Scotland; but most of the conspirators escaped to Holland, and returned with the prince of Orange at the revolution. The constancy with which the great had suffered, communicated itself to men of inferior rank: Spence, secretary to the earl of Argyle, and Carstairs, who had been seized in England, were sent to be tortured in Scotland. Spence twice endured the torture; and Carstairs for a complete hour; but neither would confess till they were assured, that they should not be obliged to become evidences. Upon this occasion, a shocking instance of cruelty was exhibited

bited in the Scottish privy-council. Mr. Gordon of Earlstone, who was a man of family and fortune, was condemned to die ; but the privy-council being informed, that he had been entrusted with important secrets, they wrote to the Scotch secretary of state at London, to know if they might put him to the torture, while he was under sentence of death. The lord advocate for Scotland gave his opinion that he might be tortured, and the king ordered that he should : he was therefore brought before the privy-council, and the engines produced : but horror drove him into instant madness.

The duke of Monmouth, on the first discovery of the conspiracy, had concealed himself ; and the court could get no intelligence of him. At last Halifax, who wished to keep him at court, in order to balance that ascendancy in Charles's councils, which he foresaw the duke of York would assume upon the suppression of all opposition to his brother, prevailed on him to write two letters to the king, full of the tenderest and most submissive expressions. On reading them, the king's fondness revived, and he permitted Monmouth to come to court. He even strove to mediate a reconciliation between his son and his brother ; and having promised Monmouth, that his testimony should never be employed against any of his friends, he prevailed on him to give a full account of the plot. Monmouth then received his pardon ; but when an account of this was put into the Gazette, he denied in public that he had made
any

any confession at all. He was then called by the king to sign a declaration, acknowledging the truth of the conspiracy; he signed the paper, but immediately recalled it, upon considering, that even though it should not be produced in court as evidence, his testimony being known, might have weight with juries on any future trial. Upon this account he was banished the court, and retired to Holland, where he again fixed his residence, and was received by the prince and princess of Orange, with kindness and respect. From this period, the court of the prince of Orange became a place of refuge for all who had opposed the succession of the duke of York, or were attached to the duke of Monmouth.

Unsuccessful attempts against government always confirm the authority they were intended to controul. In the midst of these trials and executions, the kingdom seemed to be filled with joy, and the churches with devotion; and the rejoicing for the marriage of the lady Anne, the duke's daughter, to prince George of Denmark, which happened during these executions, added to the appearance of a general transport. From every quarter of the kingdom addresses were presented, expressing not only loyalty, but an entire surrender of the independence of the subject. In these many concurred from sincerity; others to conceal the want of it, and none dared to oppose them. The university of Oxford passed their famous decree, by which the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, was carried to the
greatest

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greatest height. The court, the bar, and the pulpit, all adopted the same principles in public; and the liberty of England seemed to be laid prostrate at the foot of the throne.

All eyes were now turned to the duke of York, whose influence the whigs did not dare to oppose, lest it should be directed against themselves; and the tories naturally supported it, because they had a claim to his gratitude. Thus the king was overshadowed by the attention paid to the duke; while the nation, irritated by the frequency of punishments, which men could neither bear to be inflicted upon themselves, nor to see inflicted upon others, were afraid to indulge their own thoughts, while they found that their conversations in company were turned into instruments of their ruin. When almost all the charters of the boroughs were in the hands of the crown, Charles published a declaration, in which he thanked his subjects for the trust they reposed in him, and promised not to abuse it; thanks and promises, which were received by the wise as mere forms; and, by the brave, as insults. The nation now perceived the neglect into which all the regulations of parliament were fallen; notwithstanding the test act, the duke resumed his office of lord-high-admiral: prosecutions were directed against Williams, the speaker of the two last houses of commons, for warrants he had issued by order of the house; and the three years were elapsed, when, by the second triennial act, a new parliament should have been called; but the act was disregarded.

Charles,

Charles, by his brother's advice, now took advantage of the abject state of the nation, to form a project, which, had it not been overthrown by the revolution, would probably have destroyed forever the liberties of Britain. The duke of Ormond had a regular army in Ireland of 10,000 men, and a militia of 20,000, commanded by Protestant officers, and supported by the revenues of that kingdom; and it was resolved to place Popish in the room of the Protestant officers, in order to form a military power devoted to the king by the ties of military dependence, and to his brother by those of religion. The duke of Ormond was recalled from Ireland: lord Rochester was made lord-lieutenant, but deprived of the power of making military officers; and lord Talbot, afterwards earl of Tyrconnel, a Catholic, was to act as general, with absolute and independent power over the army.

The duke also advised his brother to strengthen himself in Scotland; and Charles committed the modelling of that country to his care. The duke, who was fond of the highlanders, contrived different plans for embodying them, and keeping up their martial spirit; and by favours and civilities to their chieftains, warmly attached them to himself. He likewise dismissed all who were suspected of whig principles, from the offices into which many of them had been admitted, at the end of Lauderdale's administration; and in their stead, placed the most zealous tories.

Charles,

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Charles, amidst these measures, was unhappy : he lost his usual gaiety ; and from being the best bred man in Europe, he became rude to every body about him. The reflection of his having no legitimate child to succeed him ; the court he saw paid to his successor ; the absence of his favourite son, whom he still loved, filled his mind with vexation ; while his knowledge of the duke's character and intentions, with the consequences which he foresaw from them, added to his present anxiety, fears for the future. One day, after there had been some difference between them, he was overheard to say, " I am too old to go on my travels a second time ; brother, you may if you will." He, however, endeavoured to lose all reflection among his women, which only served to encrease his gloom, from its adding the uneasiness arising from idleness, to that which already possessed his mind.

While the king was in this situation, Sunderland persuaded the dutchess of Portsmouth, that the duke of York's unpopularity injuring his brother, his retreat into Scotland, and the bringing back a son whom he loved, were the only means of restoring his mind to its usual tranquillity. This proposal Charles received with pleasure. Monmouth came over, and was admitted privately to an interview with his father ; but before he had sent his brother into Scotland, his intentions were prevented by a sudden apoplexy. He recovered ; but after an intermission of two days, a second fit carried him off, on the 6th of February 1685, in the
fifty-

fifth-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. During his short illness, he was attended by clergymen of the church of England; but he discovered a total indifference, with respect to their exhortations and devotions. Catholic priests were privately brought; and from them he received the sacrament, with the other rites of the Romish church. After his death, two papers were found in his closet, written with his own hand, containing arguments in favour of that communion. The duke immediately caused these papers to be published, and thus gave a specimen of his own bigotry, and confirmed all the reproaches of those who had been the greatest enemies to his brother's measures. Charles was so happy in a good constitution of body, and had ever been so remarkably careful of his health, that his death filled his subjects with as much surprise, as if he had been in the flower of his youth. A suspicion instantly ran, that he was poisoned by the Popish party, but without the least appearance of truth; merely on account of the critical time of his death, and because it was the interest of that party, that the throne should be filled by a sovereign who professed their religion. His death was regretted more on account of the hatred which many bore to his successor, than of the love entertained for himself.

He had no issue by his queen, though he had a numerous offspring of natural children by his mistresses, as the dukes of Monmouth, Richmond, Cleveland, Grafton, and St. Alban's,

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ban's, besides the undistinguished fruit of his occasional commerce with a great variety of women.

Charles was tall and swarthy, easy of access, polite, affable, and an agreeable companion; for he was ever gay and sprightly; his love of raillery, which was always tempered with good breeding, was never offensive; and his propensity to satyr was so checked by discretion, that his friends were under no apprehensions of becoming the object of it. He was fond of laying aside the formalities of state, and of becoming the merry, the profligate, and debauched companion. He brought with him to England the easy manners of the French, with the fashions of that court, without its politeness; instead of which reigned wanton revelry, riot, and profaneness. He was the first monarch of England who wore a peruke, which was of a most enormous size. He was a cold and uncomplaisant husband, but was an obliging lover, abandoned to effeminate pleasures, and had no real affection for any one besides his mistresses, his brother, and his children. He was incapable of friendship, and never attached himself to any of his ministers or courtiers, with a sincere affection. He judged of them and of all his subjects from his own heart; and believed all mankind false, perfidious, and interested. Hence, when his most intimate companions were attacked by the popular party, he made no difficulty of giving them up, and of signing the warrant for their execution. Thus, with

with all the appearance of good-nature, he wanted humanity. Smallet says, that “ he “ manifested an aversion to cruelty and injustice ;” but his whole conduct proves the falseness of this assertion. The treatment of the duke of Argyle, the unjust prosecution and execution of many innocent sufferers, particularly of the great Russel, and of the noble patriot Sidney, who had saved his life ; with his cruelly ordering Gordon of Earlstone to be put to the torture when under sentence of death, shew that he had no regard to justice ; none of the generous and tender feelings of humanity. His treatment of the Scots, though he had sworn to observe the covenant, and of the dissenters in England, notwithstanding his declaration at Breda, shew that he was destitute of all sense of honour. He was not only negligent of the interest of the nation, careless of its glory, lavish of its treasures, and jealous of its liberty ; but a gay and polite tyrant, who, while he seemed in sport, deprived his subjects of their most invaluable privileges, and endeavoured to render them a nation of slaves.

C H A P. II.

J A M E S II.

His Declarations and opposite Conduct. Argyle's Invasion, Defeat, and Execution. Monmouth's Defeat and Execution. The Cruelties of Kirk and Jeffries. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission. Proceedings against Dr. Sharpe and the Bishop of London. An Embassy to Rome, and the Arrival of the Pope's Nuncio in England. An Attempt upon Magdalen College. The Imprisonment and Trial of the Bishops, with the Joy of the Public upon their Acquittal. The Birth of the Prince of Wales. The Coalition of Parties. The King retracts his Measures. The Prince of Orange's Declaration. He sets sail for England; but is driven back by a Storm. He sails again, and landing in England, is at length joined by many of both Parties, and particularly by Prince George and the Princess Anne. The King flies, and is seized at Feversham. He returns, and afterwards sails to France. His Character. Miscellaneous Incidents.

NO prince ever ascended the throne of England, whose first measures of government more engaged the attention of the public, than those of James II. The exclusionists



JAMES II.

sionists expected no mercy from him, whom they had so warmly opposed. The dissenters had felt the severity of the councils attributed to him; and even some of the tories watched his first steps in civil, and more particularly in religious concerns, with great anxiety.

James began his reign, by endeavouring to allay ferments in the minds of his subjects. Having assembled the privy-council, he made a speech, in which he professed his resolution to maintain the established government, both in church and state: he observed, that as he knew the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wish, he was determined never to depart from them; and that he would go as far as any man in maintaining all the just rights and liberties of the nation. This declaration being published, was dispersed all over the kingdom; upon which people from all quarters expressed their satisfaction by addresses, full not only of duty, but of the most servile adulation; and even the pulpits resounded with his praises. Yet the first exercise of his authority contradicted his speech. All the customs, and the greater part of the excise, had been settled on the late king during life; and the grant being expired, he had no right to levy those branches of the revenue; yet he immediately issued a proclamation, ordering the customs and excise to be paid as before. Besides, amidst the outward appearances of general satisfaction, he behaved to many of the exclusionists, who came to wait

upon him, with a visible displeasure; some of them he refused to see, others were received coldly, and a few even with frowns; he even removed the duke of Richmond, son to the dukes of Portsmouth, from his post of master of the horse.

James at the same time behaved in the most ungarded manner, with respect to religion. He changed his former custom of going privately to mass; and on the first Sunday after his accession went publicly, with all the ensigns of royalty, to the celebration of a ceremony, which the laws of the kingdom had declared to be criminal. The duke of Norfolk, who carried the sword of state, stopped at the door of the chapel: the king passing him, said, "My lord, your father would have gone farther." The duke answered, "Your majesty's father would not have gone so far." Soon after the king complaining to Kenne, bishop of Bath and Wells, of a reflection which he was told the bishop had made against Popery, in a sermon in the royal chapel; "Sir," said the bishop, had you attended your own duty in church, my enemies had missed the opportunity of accusing me falsely." He ordered Huddleston, the priest who attended Charles in his last moments, to publish a relation of that prince's having taken the sacrament according to the rites of the church of Rome. He even sent Caryl, as his agent, to make submissions to the pope, and to pave the way for the solemn re-admission of England into the bosom of the Romish church. Pope Innocent

nocent XI. prudently advised him not to be too precipitate in his measures; and Ronquillo, the Spanish ambassador, used the freedom to make the like remonstrances.

Notwithstanding the king's prejudices, the principal offices of the crown still continued in the possession of Protestants. Rochester was treasurer; his brother Clarendon chamberlain; Godolphin, chamberlain to the queen; Sunderland, secretary of state; and Halifax, president of the council. The king openly declared, that they must now look for a more active and vigilant government, and that he would retain no ministers, who did not pay an unreserved obedience to his commands. The springs of his administration were, indeed, not to be found in his council and chief officers of state, but in his own temper, and in those whom he secretly consulted. The queen, who was a woman of spirit, had great influence over him. Her conduct had been popular till she arrived at that high dignity: but she was much governed by the jesuits; and these being also the king's favourites, all public measures were originally taken from their suggestions, and bore every mark of their ignorance of government. The king was also attached to Mrs. Sedley, whom he soon after created countess of Dorchester, and who expected to govern him with the same authority, which the dutchess of Portsmouth had possessed during the former reign. But James, being desirous of converting his people, was told, that the regularity of his life ought to correspond with the sanctity

of his intentions ; and he was prevailed with to remove Mrs. Sedley from court : he had not, however, the courage to persevere in his resolution ; Mrs. Sedley was, therefore, recalled ; and having the wit and gaiety of her father Sir Charles, made the priests and their councils the object of her raillery ; and it is not to be doubted, that this made them redouble their exhortations against so criminal an attachment.

The coronation was performed on the 23d of April 1685 ; when the crown, not being properly fitted to his head, tottered. Henry Sidney, keeper of the robes, kept it from falling off, saying, with pleasantry, “ This is not “ the first time our family has supported the “ crown.” This circumstance was much remarked and talked of.

James, whatever dislike he had to an English parliament, found it necessary to summon one, which met on the 19th of May, when, in his speech, he repeated, with great solemnity, the promise he had made before the privy-council, of governing according to the laws, and of preserving the established religion ; but told them, that he positively expected they would settle his revenue, and during life too ; and that the best way to engage him to meet them often, was always to use him well. The commons voted, that they would settle on his present majesty, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king at the time of his demise ; they also unanimously voted, that the house entirely relied on his majesty’s royal word
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and repeated declarations, to support the religion of the church of England, which, they said, was dearer to them than their lives. The speaker, in presenting the revenue bill, informed the king of their vote with regard to religion; but so signal a proof of confidence could not extort from him one word in favour of that religion, on which he told the king they set so high a value.

A little before the meeting of parliament, Oates was tried for perjury, and found guilty on two indictments upon the fullest evidence: upon which he was sentenced to be fined a thousand marks on each indictment; to be whipped two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn; to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. Notwithstanding the fullest proof of his guilt, he made solemn appeals to heaven, and protestations of the veracity of his testimony. Though the whipping was so cruel, that it was evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that punishment, he recovered, and lived to king William's reign, when the sentence of perpetual imprisonment was deemed illegal, and a pension was settled on him of 400 l. a year.

We are now entering upon extraordinary events, that mark this tyrannical reign with infamy. Argyle had continued in the Netherlands from the time that the sentence of attainder was obtained against him, and Monmouth had resided there after the detection of the Rye-house

house plot. Argyle, stung with the remembrance of his own injuries, endeavoured to inflame Monmouth with similar sentiments; he pressed him to invade England, and offered, at the same time, to make an invasion in Scotland. He assured him, that as he himself was the head of a numerous highland clan, and his father had been head of the covenanters, great numbers of his countrymen would join him. He pointed out to the duke the example of ancient heroes; allured him by the sweets of revenge; by the power he would gain of doing good to those who had suffered for his sake; and urged him, by motives of personal safety, to oppose James, who, implacable in his resentments, and cruel through fear, had driven him from England, and had now prevailed on the prince of Orange, and the court of Spain, to refuse him a refuge in Holland or in Flanders; and would never be at rest till he had stripped him of his fortune, or, perhaps, of his life. The duke continued long irresolute; but at length yielded to Argyle's entreaties.

Argyle sailed first for Scotland, with about a hundred companions; and Monmouth prepared to follow him, and to land in the west of England, with eighty-two officers and a hundred and fifty other attendants. Argyle landed at the Orkneys, in May 1685, and was soon joined by about 2000 of his vassals and dependents, but his ships were taken, in which was his ammunition; his provisions were cut off by the numerous parties which surrounded him; and in one of his marches, his guide mistaking

ing the way, led his army into a bog, where the horses and baggage were lost. In this distress all order ceased; every man consulted his own safety, and the earl fled alone to conceal his quality, but resolved to die with his arms in his hands. He was met by two peasants, who ordered him to surrender: he fired a pistol at one of them, the other gave him a wound on the head, and he fell from his horse: he recovered himself, and ran to swim over the Clyde: a third attacked him there: the earl snapped his pistol, but it missed fire: the peasant gave him a blow on the head, and, in falling, he cried out, "Unfortunate Argyle!" One of the peasants, struck with the reverse of his fate, wept, and insisted on his being allowed to escape; but the others, terrified by the orders which had been published against those who should harbour him, refused their consent: he was therefore taken, and soon after beheaded in pursuance of his former sentence.

A few days before the dispersion of Argyle's army, Monmouth landed at Lyme in Dorsetshire, and published a manifesto, declaring, that the ends of his enterprize were, that parliaments should be annual, and without a power of prorogation in the crown, till grievances were redressed: that sheriffs should be annually chosen by the freeholders, and have the command of the militia: that no standing forces should be allowed without consent of parliament, and that the charters of corporations should be restored: but by his outrageous invectives, he seemed to have forgot the king's dignity

dignity and his own; he called him the duke of York, and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, an assassin, and a Popish usurper; and invited all the people to join in opposition to his tyranny.

None of the nobility or gentry of condition came near him; but the common people, whose favourite he had always been, flocked in such multitudes to his standard, that he was obliged to dismiss many of them, for want of arms and money.

Monmouth, not perceiving the necessity of vigorous measures, would not permit his adherents, who were 6000 in number, to fight the militia under the duke of Albemarle, who only amounted to 4000, and were averse to the interest they were called to defend. With a view to form his men to discipline, his marches were slow; but as he advanced, numbers of the commonalty offered him their service; he was joined too by some of the inferior gentry. At Taunton the people strewed his way with herbs and flowers; followed him with prayers and acclamations; adorned their houses with green boughs, and threw open their houses to his army. Twenty-six young maidens, in the name of the town, kneeling, presented him a Bible and a banner; he kissed the book, and cried out, He came to defend the truths it contained, or to seal them with his blood. He was now, on the twentieth of June, prevailed upon, by the clamorous entreaties of his followers, to be proclaimed king. After which, as Bristol abounded in money, arms, and stores,
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he marched thither; but the duke of Beaufort having informed the citizens, that if they made an insurrection, he would set fire to the town, Monmouth is reported to have said, "God forbid that I should bring the two calamities of sword and fire together, upon so noble a city!" and marched to Bath, which he summoned to surrender; but the citizens shut their gates, killed his herald, and returned a defiance. From Bath he returned to Frome, where he was informed of Argyle's defeat, of the arrival at Gravesend of six regiments of troops from Holland; and that lord Feverham, with 3000 regular forces and thirty pieces of cannon, was in full march to give battle to him, who was furnished with neither. He now saw the error of his former delay, observed the desperate state of his affairs, considered the ruin of his friends and the grievousness of his fall, from the state of a king to that of a fugitive. By the advice of his council, he retired to Bridgewater, whither he was followed by Feverham. When there, he mounted to the top of a high tower, where, by the assistance of glasses, he observed, at three miles distance, that Feverham's horse and foot at Sedgemore were separated from each other, and carelessly encamped; he resolved to attack them that night in the dark. The plan he formed was prompt and wise: he himself resolved to attack the foot who lay nearest to him, and ordered lord Grey, with part of the horse, to make a circuit to a village in which Feverham's cavalry lay; and with the rest to fall on the back
of

of the infantry ; but while Monmouth was attacking them in front, Grey, by his misconduct, was put to flight, so that Monmouth was obliged to sustain the whole attack with his foot. Feversham's troops at first gave way ; but the duke, by his care to keep his men in order, and not permitting them to rush into the ranks of their enemies with their swords, lost the advantage : the enemy rallied ; and at this fight the duke's followers lost all regard to the orders of their general. Every man pressed where he thought his presence was most needed ; using sometimes the musket, sometimes the sword, and often, in the fury of civil dissension, grappling with the body when weapons failed. But finding that, by this desultory engagement, they made little impression, they formed themselves into a solid body, and laying their shoulders close to each other, and every man encouraging his neighbour, they advanced, stopped, fought, and died together. In this various kind of battle, they maintained their attack for three hours ; every officer and soldier behaving as if the fate of the battle depended on his single arm. At length Feversham's cannon were brought to bear on one of the duke's flanks, and at the same time the horse, wearied with pursuing Grey, returned, and fell on his rear. Yet his soldiers, though one third of them were fallen, bore these redoubled disadvantages, till all their ammunition was spent. The duke fled, while the army only retreated. He galloped from the field of battle for twenty miles together, not knowing

ing where he was going ; and then quitted his horse, unresolved where to go. Two days after he was taken, without resistance, near Ringwood, in Dorsetshire, in the habit of a peasant, lying in a ditch covered with fern. He had supported life by eating green peas, some of which were found in his pocket, together with his George, set with diamonds. He had not slept for three nights ; and his spirits being exhausted, he fainted and wept.

After Monmouth's being taken, he wrote a letter to James, to beg his being brought into his presence, and to assure him, that he had a secret of the utmost consequence to his safety to communicate. The king consented to see him, and it is said, that Sunderland sent him a private message, to inform him, that this arose from his resolution to pardon him, and to advise him not to hurt his own honour by betraying his friends, but to give the king satisfaction, by pretending a desire to change his religion.

The day after Monmouth's being brought to the Tower, he was taken by water to the presence chamber at Whitehall ; and throwing himself at the king's feet, owned the greatness of his offence, and, with many tears, begged his life ; reminding James, that in shedding his nephew's blood, he shed his own ; the king heard and saw his agonies with a stern insensibility. The duke offered to become a Catholic, but communicated no secret. The king continued for some time silent, from which the duke derived hopes ; and these were encreased

on his being desired to sign a declaration, importing, that the late king had assured him, he was never married to his mother. He obeyed : James then desired him to name all his accomplices ; and when he hesitated, loaded him with reproaches. Upon which the duke, in a transport of passion, started from the ground, and quitted the royal presence with the air of an equal.

Monmouth was brought to the scaffold on the fifteenth of July, and having ascended it, bowed to the people, by whom he knew he was tenderly beloved, but did not address them. A deep silence alternately succeeded to the murmurs of sighs and groans in the spectators. The duke expressed his fears, that the executioner would not end his life by a single blow ; examined the axe to satisfy himself that it was sharp ; and said he was afraid to die, yet asked if they could perceive it by his countenance. This, with the rank of the victim, so awed the executioner, that he struck a feeble blow, on which Monmouth, raising his head from the block, is said to have looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure ; and then gently laid down his head a second time : the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose ; then throwing aside the axe, he cried out, That he was incapable of finishing his bloody office. The people, in their tears and prayers, and in the contorsions of their bodies, seemed to feel the strokes which the duke no longer felt. The sheriff obliged the executioner to renew the attempt ;
and

and with two blows more, the head was severed from the body. Thus died Monmouth, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. The fondness of the common people followed him even beyond the grave: they flattered themselves, that one of his friends, resembling him, had consented to die in his stead: they started at every rumour of his name, and long expected, with impatience, when their favourite should again call them to assert his cause and their own.

The victory obtained over Monmouth was prosecuted with the most unrelenting cruelty. Feverham, immediately after it, hanged above twenty prisoners, and was proceeding in his executions, when he was told by the bishop of Bath and Wells, that as they were entitled to a trial, their execution would be deemed murder. This did not stop the savage disposition of colonel Kirk, who, at his first entering into Bridgewater, hanged nineteen prisoners, without the least enquiry into the merits of their cause. With a savage refinement he made a sport of these murders; and having a gallows erected at his door, he, while drinking with his companions, ordered the execution of his prisoners to accompany the glass that was drunk to the health of the king, or the queen, or judge Jeffreys. On observing the feet of the dying to shake in the last agonies of departing life, he cried, "They should have music to their dancing," and ordered his trumpets to sound, and his drums to strike up. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up

three times, questioning him at each interval, whether he had repented of what he had done : but the man steadily asserting, that he would still willingly engage in the same cause, he ordered him to be hung in chains. It is said, that a young maid threw herself at Kirk's feet, and pleaded for the life of her brother : she was possessed of all the charms which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could bestow. The wretch was inflamed with desire, but not softened into love and clemency. He promised to grant her request, if she would be equally compliant to him. The maid, after a struggle between duty and affection to her brother, consented : she passed the night with Kirk, and the next morning the base savage shewed her, from the window, her brother, for whom she had sacrificed her virtue, hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be erected before the house for his execution. Upon which rage, despair, and indignation, took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses. All the inhabitants of the country were indiscriminately exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. He let loose his soldiers to live on free quarters ; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, particularly distinguished themselves by their outrages. He used to call them, by way of pleasantry, *his lambs*, by which name they were long remembered in the west with horror.

Jeffreys, now enobled, shewed the people, that the forms of law might be made to equal,
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if not to exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. A power was given him in his commission, to command the forces of the west; so that the terrors both of the law and the sword were united in his person. He had already given a specimen of his character in many trials where he presided; and he now set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction. In his preliminary charge to the grand-jury of Dorchester, where he first opened the trials, he ordered them to enquire after not only all principals, but all *aiders and abettors* of those who had been concerned in the rebellion: a charge which moulded the jury-men to his will, by the consideration of their personal safeties, there being few who had not given refuge to their friends or relations in their distress. Thirty persons being arraigned, he pressed them to confess, to save him trouble; and when twenty-nine of them were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional punishment for their disobedience, to be executed the same day. His officers had orders to prevail upon the prisoners to confess, by making them promises of pardon: but when the prisoners adhered in court to their confession, they were condemned to be hanged; and when they retracted, these officers were evidences at hand to prove the confession. Bragg, an attorney, being found guilty, Jeffreys declared, that if any lawyers or parsons came in his way, they should not escape him. One of the prisoners objecting to a witness, Jeffreys interrupted him by crying, "Villain,
 1 3 " rebel,

“ rebel, methinks I see thee already with a halter round thy neck.” The evidence against Mr. Hewling being doubtful, the justice of peace, who had given information against him, remarked it to Jeffreys, and interceded in his behalf. Jeffreys answered, “ You have brought him on; if he be innocent, his blood be upon you:” and when this gentleman’s sisters hung on the wheels of his coach, to beg mercy for their brother, he ordered his coachman to cut their arms and hands with his whip. The mayor of Taunton interposed with Jeffreys for Speke, a gentleman in whose case there were favourable circumstances. “ No!” cried Jeffreys with a violent motion of his arm, “ his family owes a life, and he shall die for the sake of his name.”

In the course of these trials, two women were sentenced to be burned alive, for indulging compassion for the distressed, the sweetest of female virtues. Mrs. Gaunt had formerly saved the life of Burton, one of her neighbours, who having been charged with being concerned in the Rye-house plot, she got him conveyed beyond sea. This man having escaped from the battle in which Monmouth was defeated, she prepared a second time to shew him the same kindness; and also supplied him with money. But the wretch, being afraid that his escape might be prevented, turned upon his generous benefactress, and became evidence against her; and thus deprived her of life who had saved his own. He for his treachery was pardoned,

pardoned, and she for her charity was burned alive.

Lady Lisle had given refuge to Hicks, a dissenting minister, who had begged the protection of her house, and trusted his life in her hands. She was widow to lord Lisle, one of the regicides, who had, on that account, been assassinated in Swisserland. Though above seventy years of age, she, with equal spirit and tenderness, exclaimed at her trial and execution. "I once thought as little of being brought to this place as any one here. The person whom I received under my roof, was convicted by no sentence, was mentioned in no proclamation; how then could I know I was obnoxious to the law in receiving him. My own principles have been loyal. None in England shed more tears for the death of the king's father than I did. If I could have ventured my life for any thing, it would have been to serve the present king: but, although I could not fight for him, my son did, against the duke of Monmouth. I sent the son to atone for the offences of the father. It was I who bred him up to fight for his sovereign: with my last breath I will bless that life which takes away mine*." Two tory peeresses applied for her pardon, declaring, that she had done favours to their party in their greatest extremities: but Jeffreys exacted a promise from James not to pardon her; and the only favour she obtained was to

* Lady Lisle's trial,

be beheaded, and not burned. The juries were, in all these trials, so struck with the menaces of Jeffreys, that they gave their verdict with precipitation. One thousand were condemned to die, of whom a fourth part fell by the hands of the executioner. The other punishments were numerous and rigid; the whole country exhibited the heads and limbs of fathers and brothers, exposed upon towers and gibbets, to the view of the inhabitants, who were, perhaps, the most humbling spectacle of the two: for fear suspended in them all the duties of nature; they were afraid of shewing their grief for their nearest relations and dearest friends, lest their loyalty should be doubted: and in every neighbour they dreaded an informer.

The multitudes who received pardon were obliged to atone for their guilt, by fines which reduced them to beggary; or where their former poverty rendered them incapable of paying, they were condemned to cruel whippings or severe imprisonments. Nor could the innocent escape the cruel and rapacious hands of the chief justice. Prideaux, a gentleman of Devonshire, being thrown into prison, and dreading that severe and arbitrary spirit which raged without controul, was obliged to purchase his liberty of Jeffreys, by paying him 15,000 l. though he could not so much as learn the crime of which he was accused.

After so many trials for recent offences, people were astonished at seeing new ones begun for what passed in the late reign. Alderman
Cornish,

Cornish, who had been sheriff of London, was tried for being concerned in the Rye-house plot, was refused time to send for witnesses, and the prosecution so hastened, that he was tried, condemned, and hanged at his own door in Cheapside, in the space of a week. Soon after the return of Jeffreys to London, he was rewarded for his cruelty, by his being appointed lord high chancellor.

In the mean time Lewis XIV. who had long persecuted the Protestants, revoked entirely the edict of Nantz, enacted by Henry IV. to secure them the free exercise of their religion, and which had been declared irrevocable. Above half a million of his most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, and exported not only immense sums of money, but those arts and manufactures, which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. They every where propagated the most tragical accounts of the tyranny exercised against them, and filled the minds of the people with terror against the persecuting spirit of that religion which produced such dreadful effects. Near fifty thousand refugees came into England; and every Protestant was disposed, from their representations, to entertain the utmost horror against the projects, which they apprehended to be formed for the abolition of the Protestant religion.

While the minds of the people were in this disposition, the smallest approach towards the introduction of Popery, was sufficient to fill them with terror; but James made large strides towards it. He attempted to engage the parliament

liament to dispence with the test-act, the sole security with which the nation was provided against the introduction of Popery. But tho' the parliament refused to comply, he resolved to persevere in his purpose; and after having adjourned the parliament, he endeavoured, with more success, to bring over the judges to establish his dispensing power. Four Catholic lords, Powis, Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover, were brought into the privy-council. The privy-seal was taken from Halifax, and given to Arundel. The treasury was put in commission, and Bellasis placed at the head of it. The king was open and zealous in the desire of making converts; and it plainly appeared, that the only way for people to acquire his affection and confidence was, by the sacrifice of their religion. The king, to prevent any stop to the spreading of Popery, directed the clergy to avoid entering into controversies; but, instead of complying, they now declaimed every where against Popery; and, among the rest, Dr. Sharpe, a clergyman of London, distinguished himself, in opposing the arguments advanced by the Romish missionaries. This giving great offence at court, positive orders were, in 1686, issued to the bishop of London to suspend Sharpe, till his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. That prelate declined obeying these commands, alledging, that he was not empowered to inflict any punishment in so summary a way, even upon the greatest offender. The king, however, resolved to punish the bishop for disobedience to his commands;

mands ; and the means he employed was the most illegal and the most alarming.

Though the court of high commission had been abolished in the reign of Charles I. by act of parliament, and that court prohibited to be erected in any future time, James issued an ecclesiastical commission, by which seven commissioners were vested with full and unlimited authority over the church of England : they might proceed upon bare suspicion ; and it was expressly inserted in their patent itself, that they were to exercise their jurisdiction, notwithstanding any law or statute to the contrary. A more sensible blow could not be given to the liberties and religion of the nation ; and happily the contest could not be tried in a more unpopular and iniquitous cause, than that against Sharpe and the bishop of London.

The bishop, after denying the legality of this court to which he was brought, and claiming the privilege of all Christian bishops, to be tried by his metropolitan and his suffragans, pleaded, that he could not, in the capacity of a judge, suspend Dr. Sharpe, without a previous citation and trial : that he had represented this difficulty to his majesty, without receiving any answer : that, to shew his respect to the king, he had advised Sharpe to preach no more till he had justified his conduct to the king, and had accordingly met with a proper obedience ; and that if he was still found wanting in his duty, he was willing to crave his majesty's pardon. This submission had, however,

no effect; and both the bishop and the doctor were suspended.

In 1687 James pretended to become a great patron of toleration, and an enemy to all those persecuting laws, which, from the influence of the church, had been enacted both against the Dissenters and the Catholics; and not content with granting dispensations to particular persons, he issued a proclamation, suspending all the penal laws in ecclesiastical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conscience to all his subjects. In order to procure a better reception for this edict, the king finding himself opposed by the church, began to pay court to the dissenters, imagining, that by playing one party against the other, he should easily obtain the victory over both. The dissenters were sensible, that both the violence of the king's temper, and the maxims of his religion, were repugnant to the principles of toleration; and to every man of judgment among them, all his favours must have appeared insidious: yet such was the pleasure they reaped from present ease, and their being allowed the enjoyment of their religion, that they could not, at first, forbear expressing their gratitude to the king upon this occasion.

James, impatient to produce the changes he meditated in England, now publicly sent the earl of Castlemain, ambassador extraordinary to Rome, in order to reconcile his kingdoms in form to the Catholic communion: but never man, who applied to the Roman pontiff on so important a subject, met with so many neglects,
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and even affronts, as Castlemain. The pope, instead of being pleased with this precipitate step, concluded, that a scheme, conducted with such indiscretion, was impossible to be successful; and the only proof of compliance he shewed to the king, was his sending a nuncio to England. Though, by an act of parliament, any communication with the pope was treason, the king paid so little regard to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public and solemn reception at Windsor; and because the duke of Somerset, one of the lords of the bed-chamber, refused to assist at this ceremony, he was dismissed from his employment. The nuncio, during the rest of this reign, resided openly in London. Four Catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent out under the title of vicars apostolical, to exercise the episcopal function in their respective dioceses. Their pastoral letters, directed to the Lay Catholics of England, were printed and dispersed by the king's permission. And the regular clergy of that communion appeared at court, in the habits of their order.

In the mean time, the whole power in Ireland had been committed to Catholics. In Scotland, all the ministers, chiefly trusted by the king, were converts to that religion; and every great office in England, civil and military, was gradually transferred from the Protestants. The king attempted to proceed in the same manner with the universities: father Francis, a benedictine, was recommended by the king's mandate to that of Oxford, for the

degree of master of arts ; but they refused obedience ; and being cited to appear before the court of ecclesiastical commission, the vice-chancellor was suspended ; but the university chusing a man of spirit to succeed him, the king dropped his pretensions.

The king's attempt upon the university of Oxford was attended with more important consequences. The president of Magdalen college, one of the richest foundations in Europe, dying about this time, the king's mandate was sent in favour of Farmer, a new convert, who, besides his being a Catholic, wanted the qualifications required by the statutes for enjoying that office. The fellows of the college, with great submission, applied to the king to recall his mandate ; but before they received an answer, the day arrived on which they were required by their statutes to proceed to an election. They therefore chose Dr. Hough, a man of virtue and firmness. Upon which an inferior ecclesiastical commission was sent down, in order to punish the college for this contumacy, as it was termed ; and the new president and fellows were cited before it. On enquiry, Farmer was found guilty of such low and scandalous vices, that even the ecclesiastical commissioners were ashamed to insist on his election. A new mandate was therefore issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford, a man of a profligate character, but who had avowed his willingness to embrace the Popish religion. The college represented, that all presidents had ever been appointed by election,

tion, and that having already chosen one, they could not deprive him of his office; and during his life, substitute another in his place: that even if there were a vacancy, Parker, by the statutes of their founder, could not be chosen: that they had all of them bound themselves, by oath, to observe these statutes, and that the college had, at all times, been always so distinguished by its loyalty, that nothing but the most invincible necessity could now oblige them to oppose his majesty's inclinations. But these reasons were of no avail. The president and all the fellows, except two who complied, were expelled the college, and Parker was put in possession of the office.

In 1688 the king published a second declaration of indulgence, almost in the same terms with the former; and subjoined an order, that it should be read by the clergy in all the churches, immediately after divine service. Upon this six prelates, namely, Trelawney, bishop of Bristol, White of Peterborough, late of Chichester, Turner of Ely, Ken of Bath and Wells, and Lloyde, bishop of St. Asaph, met privately at the primate's, and drew up a short petition to the king, in which they represented, that though they were possessed of the highest sense of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given such eminent testimonies; and though desirous of affording ease, in a legal way, to all Protestant dissenters; yet, as the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative, formerly declared

illegal by parliament, they besought the king not to insist upon their reading it.

As James was incapable of allowing the most respectful contradiction to pass uncensured, he resolved to punish the bishops; and it being delivered to him in private, he summoned them before the council, and asked them, whether they would acknowledge it? The bishops seeing his intention, strove to decline answering; but being pushed by the chancellor, at last avowed the petition; and, refusing to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower.

The people, who were already aware of the danger to which the bishops were exposed, no sooner beheld them brought from court under the custody of a guard, embarked in vessels on the river, and conveyed toward the Tower, than all their zeal for religion blazed up at once, and they flew to behold this affecting spectacle. The shore was covered with crowds of spectators, imploring the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressing their petitions to heaven, to protect their country and their religion, from the dangers to which they were exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, threw themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and begged the benediction of those whom they were appointed to guard. Some people ran into the water, that they might more nearly participate in the blessings which the prelates were distributing. The bishops themselves augmented the general favour by the
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most lowly and submissive deportment; and still exhorted the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty; expressions more animating than the most inflammatory speeches. And they no sooner entered the Tower than they hurried to chapel, to return thanks to heaven for their being thought worthy to suffer in defence of that holy cause.

When conducted to their trial, they were attended by still greater crowds of anxious spectators. Twenty-nine temporal peers (for the other prelates were not present) attended the prisoners to Westminster-hall; and such crowds of gentry followed the procession, that there was scarcely any room left for the populace to enter. No cause was ever heard with such zeal and attention. The arguments in defence of the bishops were unanswerable; yet the jury, from what cause is unknown, took several hours to deliberate; and during so long a time, kept the people in the most anxious expectation. But the wished-for verdict, *Not Guilty*, was no sooner pronounced, than the shout in the hall was answered by one from the multitude without, and almost in an instant by a thousand shouts from different parts of the town. These were continued from village to village, till they reached the army encamped on Hounslow-heath, which was seized with the same sympathetic transport. The king had reviewed the troops, and retired into the tent of lord Feversham the general, when he was surprized to hear the loudest and most extravagant symptoms of tumultuary joy in the camp.

He sent Feverham to enquire into the cause. He returned, and reported, that it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops; "Do you call that no-thing?" replied he, but so much the worse "for them."

He immediately returned to town, and issued a proclamation, forbidding the populace to assemble in the streets. The restraint increased their zeal; and the city was lighted up by bonfires and illuminations. Several persons were imprisoned, and tried for disorders committed that evening; but the juries acquitted them, though the judges sent them back several times to consider their verdict.

James being still determined to rush forward in the same precipitate course, struck out two of the judges, Powell and Holloway, who had appeared to favour the bishops; issued orders to prosecute all the clergy who had not read his declaration, that is, all the divines of the church of England, except two hundred; sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had intruded on Magdalane college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker lately deceased, one Gifford, doctor of the Sorbonne, and titular bishop of Madura, whom he is even said to have nominated to the see of Oxford: an infatuation that is surprizing in a man, who, in other respects, was not deficient in understanding.

As not only the king and queen, but all the zealous Catholics, both at home and abroad, were extremely desirous of the queen's having
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an heir to the crown, because on James's death, the succession must devolve to the prince and princess of Orange, two zealous Protestants, who would soon replace every thing on the ancient foundations; vows had been offered at every shrine for a male successor; pilgrimages were undertaken, particularly one to Loretto, by the dutchess of Modena. At length the queen was delivered of a son, on the tenth of June 1688, a few days before the acquittal of the bishops: but, in proportion as this event was agreeable to the Catholics, it increased the disgust of the Protestants, by depriving them of that pleasing prospect, with which they had flattered themselves. It was even believed, that the king and queen, despairing of having issue, had imposed a supposititious child upon the nation, and it was almost unanimously believed, that James's bigotry rendered him capable of any crime, to obtain a Popish successor.

During these transactions, almost all eyes in Britain were turned towards the prince of Orange, whose consort, the princess Mary, James's eldest daughter, was the next heir to the crown, and a Protestant, while he himself was at the head of the Protestant interest in Christendom, and the patron of the liberties of Europe. On the birth of the prince of Wales people saw no end of their fears, and what gave joy to the king, seemed to entail calamity on the nation. Hence both the whigs and tories applied to the prince of Orange for his protection: but while the tories only intended by his means to procure a parliamentary settlement

settlement for the security of the national religion and laws; the whigs, concealing their intentions in public, thus discoursed in private: "We have parliamentary settlements and laws in support of religious and civil liberty in abundance: but of what avail are parliaments and laws against a king who makes the first only the instruments of his convenience; and who asserts a right of dispensing whenever he pleases with the last. By the original contract between the prince and the people, the one is bound to preserve the laws, and the other their allegiance: but James has broken his part of the contract: we are therefore freed from our part; and the time is now ripe to oblige him to descend from that throne, from which he has already been excluded by two successive houses of commons." These different parties carried their complaints to the prince of Orange with the more freedom, as his natural reserve gave them a high opinion of his prudence. Admiral Herbert had thrown up his employments, and retired to the Hague, where he assured the prince of the disaffection of the seamen, by whom that admiral was greatly beloved. Admiral Russel, cousin german to the late unfortunate lord Russel, frequently passed between England and Holland, and kept the communication open with all the great men of the Protestant party. Henry Sidney, brother to the late Algernoon Sidney, and uncle to the earl of Sunderland, under the pretence of going to drink the waters of Spa, conveyed to the prince

prince still stronger assurances of an universal combination against the king's measures.

Soon after Zuylestein, who had been sent to congratulate James on the birth of his son, returned to the prince with invitations from most of the great men in England, to assist them, by his arms, in the recovery of their liberty and laws. The bishop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Derby, and Nottingham, the lords Delamere, Lovelace, Paulet, Eland, Mr. Hampden, Powle, and many eminent citizens of London, who, though of opposite parties, concurred in their applications to the prince. Thus all faction was laid asleep, and rival parties forgetting their animosities, secretly concurred in the design of resisting an unprincipled tyrant who had broken his coronation oath, and dissolved all the bonds which united him to his people. At this time the earl of Shrewsbury acquired great popularity by deserting the Popish religion, in which he had been educated; and he leaving his regiment, mortgaged his estate for 40,000 l. and offered his sword and purse to the prince of Orange. Lord Wharton went to Holland for the same purpose; and lord Mordaunt, who was at the Hague, pushed on the enterprize with that courageous spirit for which he was distinguished.

It was not difficult to prevail on the prince to embrace the defence of a nation, which regarded him as its sole protector. The great object of his ambition was to be at the head of a confederate army, and by his valour, to avenge

venge the injuries which he himself, his country, and his allies, had sustained from Lewis XIV. But he despaired of forming a league able to oppose that powerful monarch, while England remained under the present government. The jealousies between a prince in possession, and his presumptive successor; with the opposition of interests and religion, had dissolved all ties between the father and son-in-law; and the glory of delivering oppressed nations was sufficient to inspire the prince with the most heroic ardour. He could not well expect at the beginning of his enterprize, that it would lead him to ascend the throne of England; but he doubtless foresaw, that his success would establish his authority in that kingdom.

The prince conducted his preparations with the greatest wisdom. He had before-hand considerably augmented the Dutch navy, and the ships were then in harbour. Some additional troops were also levied, and he diverted sums raised for other purposes to the use of this expedition. He had the entire confidence of the States, who, partly from terror of the power of France, and partly from resentment on account of some restraints laid on their commerce in that kingdom, were sensible that his success was necessary to secure their domestic happiness and security. The prince engaged the neighbouring powers to protect the United Provinces during his absence; yet so secret were his councils, that all his preparations being covered under other pretences, little suspicion was entertained of his real intentions.

All the prince's artifices could not, however, entirely conceal his designs from the French court; for Lewis suspecting them, sent intelligence to James, and, at the same time, offered to join the English fleet with a squadron of French ships, and to send over any number of troops James should think necessary for his security. But the king, not sensible of his own danger, rejected all his proposals. Fully persuaded of the sacredness of his own authority, he fancied that a like belief had made a deep impression on his subjects; and notwithstanding the strong symptoms of discontent which every where broke out, rebellion appeared incredible. Yet experience ought to have taught him how little his military force was to be depended upon in matters of religion. For, the year before, admiral Strickland, who was a Papist, having directed the priests to say mass on board his ship, the seamen rose in a mutiny, and insisted on throwing the priests over-board. Strickland proceeded to severity: the severity added rage to mutiny; and both flew from ship to ship. The king was obliged to repair to Portsmouth, to pacify the seamen. He in vain called them his children and old friends, for it was impossible to satisfy them till the priests were removed from all the ships. The king now found the disposition of the army not more favourable to him: he resolved to augment his army with Irish troops, and to begin with the regiment of the duke of Berwick, his natural son; but Beaumont, the lieutenant-colonel, refused to admit them; and five captains

tains steadily adhered to him : upon which they were all cashiered ; and had not the discontents of the army, on this occasion, been very apparent, it was resolved to punish those officers for mutiny.

The king now resolved to try the dispositions of his army in a more important case, in which their uniformity would enforce universal obedience. This was to engage them to consent to the repeal of the test and penal statutes, and he determined to proceed regularly with all the regiments : accordingly the major of Litchfield's drew out his battalion before the king, and told the men, that they were required either to enter into his majesty's views in these particulars, or to lay down their arms. To the surprize of James, the whole battalion, except two captains and a few Popish soldiers, embraced the latter part of the alternative. The king, for some time, remained speechless ; but, on his recovering from his astonishment, ordered them to take up their arms, adding, with a sullen air of discontent, " For the future, I " will not do you the honour to ask your ap-
" probation."

At last, on the 23d of September, the king received a letter from the marquis of Abbeville, his minister at the Hague, which contained certain information of the intended invasion. He instantly turned pale, and stood motionless : the letter dropped from his hand : his eyes were opened, and he found himself on the brink of a precipice, which his delusion had hitherto concealed from him. He now
suddenly

suddenly retracted those fatal measures, by which he had created to himself so many enemies. He replaced, in all the counties, the deputy-lieutenants and justices who had been deprived of their commissions, for their adherence to the test and the penal laws: he restored the charters of all the corporations; annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission; took off the bishop of London's suspension; reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen college; and was even reduced to caress those bishops whom he had so lately prosecuted and imprisoned: but all these measures were considered as symptoms of fear, and not of repentance.

Mean while the prince of Orange published his declaration, and caused it to be dispersed throughout England. It enumerated all the grievances of the nation: the dispensing and suspending power; the court of ecclesiastical commission; the filling of all offices with Catholics, and raising a Jesuit to be privy-counsellor; the open encouragement given to Popery, by building churches, colleges, and seminaries for that sect; displacing the judges who refused to pass sentence according to orders received from court; the annulling the charters of all corporations; the treating of the most modest petitions, even from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the committing of the whole authority of Ireland, civil and military, into the hands of Papists; the assuming of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland; and the

violent presumptions against the legitimacy of the prince of Wales. The prince of Orange declared, that his sole aim in coming to England, was to redress these grievances, and protect the people from the king's evil counsellors, by their having a free and legal parliament, who might provide for the safety and liberty of the nation; adding, that no one could entertain such hard thoughts of him as to imagine, that he had formed any other design than to procure the full and lasting settlement of religion, liberty, and property; and that though the English ministers, terrified by his enterprise, had pretended to redress some of the above grievances, there still remained an arbitrary and despotic power in the crown, by which those grievances might be instantly restored; for which there could be no other remedy but by a full declaration of all the rights of the subject in a free parliament.

Besides this declaration, there was published a letter from the prince to the army; another from Herbert to the seamen; and a tract directed to the people, composed by bishop Burnet, in defence of the lawfulness of the prince's undertaking.

On the 19th of October the prince set sail from Helvoetsluys, with a fleet of sixty-five ships of war, seventy vessels of burthen to attend them, and five hundred transports. His army was composed of near 5000 cavalry and about 11,000 infantry, of the best troops of the republic, with three hundred officers, Protestant refugees, who had solicited to be employed.

ployed. Of these troops, the most formidable were six British regiments in the service of the Dutch, who had been mostly driven from their country in the late and present reigns; and impatiently longed to take vengeance on their enemies, and to recover their own possessions and honours. But during the night the wind changed to the north-west, and a dreadful tempest succeeded; the horror of which was augmented by the darkness of the season: the number of the ships, which endangered each other, and the terrors of the landmen: the number of horses, with the quantity of artillery and baggage, put hastily on board, and ill fastened, added equally to the distraction and the danger. In two hours the whole fleet was dispersed; so that in the morning scarcely two ships could be seen together*.

As reports are always encreased by distance, it was believed in England, that the whole armament was lost. James received the news at dinner, and cried out, "It is not to be wondered at, for the host has been exposed these several days!" He is even said to have immediately recalled the concessions he had made to Magdalen college, which sufficiently shewed his insincerity in his other concessions.

The prince having soon collected his scattered fleet, and repaired the damage it had sustained, again set sail on the first of November, with a fair wind, amidst the sound of trumpets and artillery, and the shouts and acclamations

* Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

of the soldiers and mariners. He steered for above twelve hours to the northward, in order to create a belief in the advice-boats, which watched his fleet, that his intentions were to land in the north of England. This stratagem succeeded; for James ordered a part of his forces to march to the north. But these advice-boats no sooner disappeared, and night came on, than the prince tacked about, and sailed to the westward; and the same wind which detained the king's fleet in their station near Harwich, enabled the Dutch to pass the streights of Dover without opposition. Both shores were covered with multitudes of people, who, besides admiring the grandeur of the spectacle, were held in anxious suspense, with the prospect of the most important enterprize, which, during some ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The prince, after a prosperous voyage, landed his army in Torbay, on the fifth of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason.

The prince immediately marched to Exeter; and, for the greater expedition, sent his baggage round by sea, to meet him there. But the country was so terrified by the terrors of Jeffreys's executions, that few joined him in his march. The city of Exeter scrupled to receive the prince. Lamplugh, the bishop, fled to the king, for which he was instantly named to the vacant archbishopric of York, which, it is thought, was intended to have been bestowed on a Catholic. His clergy refused to attend a sermon preached in the cathedral

dral by Burnet. Even the dissenters refused the keys of their meeting-house to Ferguson. But Ferguson said, laughing, "I will take the kingdom of heaven by violence;" and, calling for a hammer, broke open the door with his own hand. The friends of the prince looked upon each other, waiting to see who should act first; covering their own fears under complaints of those of others. The prince knowing he could not conquer eight millions of people with 15,000 men, and that he was induced to come to England by the invitation of the people themselves, stopped at Exeter, to wait the effects which the promises of his friends would produce; and privately resolved to return, if they produced none. After staying there near a week, with no better prospect than when he arrived, he is said, in a fit of peevishness at his disappointment, to mention in public, his intentions to depart immediately, and to leave the people of England and their king to settle their differences among themselves at their leisure.

The minds of men, struck with the greatness of the object and the danger, remained in a kind of stupor; but no sooner did major Barington join the prince, than he was followed by the gentry of Devonshire and Somersetshire. Sir Edward Seymour proposed an association, which every one signed. By degrees the earl of Abingdon, Mr. Ruffel, the son of the earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, and many other persons of rank from different parts of England, hastened to Exeter. All England was in com-

motion; the earl of Danby seized York, lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire. the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince, the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause. In the mean time a petition for a free parliament, signed by twenty-four bishops and peers, was presented to the king; and no one thought of opposing the army. The officers seemed all disposed to prefer the interest of their religion and their country, to their fidelity to a prince who had violated his engagements to both. Lord Colchester was the first who deserted with a few of his troops to the prince. Lord Lovelace made a like effort, but was intercepted by the militia under the duke of Beaufort, and taken prisoner: lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, attempted to carry over three regiments of cavalry, and brought a considerable part of them to the prince's quarters; and Feversham, the general, was told by several officers, that their conscience would not allow them to fight against the prince of Orange. Lord Churchill, who had been raised from the rank of a page, invested with a high command in the army, and created a peer by James, thought his obligations to his religion and his country, superior to those he owed to the king; and carried with him to the prince the duke of Grafton, natural son of the late king, colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons.

James

James had arrived at Salisbury, the head quarters of his army, when he received the news of his being left by lord Churchill, and was extremely shocked at it. He had none in whom he could confide; and as the whole army discovered symptoms of discontent, he suddenly marched with them towards London: but stopping at Andover, the first stage of his retreat, prince George, together with the young duke of Ormond, Sir George Hewet, and other persons of distinction, deserted him in the night, and hastened to the prince of Orange's camp. This news no sooner reached London, than the princess Anne withdrew herself, in company with the bishop of London and lady Churchill, and retired to Nottingham, where she was received with great respect by the earl of Dorset, and the gentry of the county formed a troop for her guard.

The princesses had been educated in the Protestant religion, by the order of the late king; and James no sooner heard of his being deserted by his daughter Anne, than he burst into tears, and cried, "God help me, my own children have forsaken me!" Unable to resist the torrent which prevailed against him, he seemed as much depressed by his adversity, as he had been vainly elated by his prosperity. He called a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London, and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin, as commissioners, to treat with the prince of Orange.

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At the same time addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, "You, my lord, said he, "are an honest man; have great credit, and "can do me signal service." "Sir, said the "earl with a sigh, I am a feeble old man; "but I had a son, who, if he had been now "alive, could have served your majesty in a "more effectual manner;" alluding to the great lord Russel, whom James had caused to be unjustly executed in the last reign. At this the king was so struck, that he could not answer a word.

The queen seeing every thing in confusion, was filled with terror; the Popish courtiers, and above all the priests, dreading that they should be the first sacrifice, resolved to leave the kingdom, and were desirous of carrying the king along with them. The general defection of the Protestants made the king regard the Catholics, as the only subjects on whose advice he could rely. The news he received from all quarters, filled him with continual alarms; and impelled by his own fears, and those of others, he precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France; but first sent off the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of count Lauzun, an old favourite of the French king. He himself disappeared in the night, on the twelfth of December, attended only by Sir Edward Hale; and made the best of his way to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river. This measure, which was the most grateful to his enemies, he performed with the utmost privacy,

vacy, and nothing could equal the surprize with which the court and the city were seized, at the discovery of this strange event. The more effectually to involve every thing in confusion, he had not appointed any one to exercise any part of the administration in his absence; he had recalled all the writs which had been issued for the election of a new parliament; and, as he was sailing down the Thames, threw the great seal into the river. The government being thus dissolved, the populace rose in a tumult, and not only destroyed all the mass-houses, but rifled the houses of the Spanish ambassador and Florentine envoy, where many of the Catholics had lodged their most valuable effects.

Every thing being in confusion, the bishops and peers in town thought proper to assemble; and then chose the marquis of Halifax speaker; gave directions to the mayor and aldermen, for keeping the peace of the city; issued orders to the fleet, the army, and all the garrisons, which were readily obeyed; and made applications to the prince of Orange, whom they joyfully congratulated on his success.

A new incident now made the prince's approach to London still more welcome. One Speke, artfully raised a rumour in every part of the kingdom, in order to draw the attention of the nation to the prince of Orange. It was universally believed, that the disbanded Irish had taken arms, and commenced an universal massacre of the Protestants. Every part of the kingdom was, in the same instant, filled with
the

the deepest consternation. The alarm bells were rung; the beacons fired; men fancied that they saw at a distance the smoke of burning cities, and heard the groans of those who were slaughtered in the neighbourhood. The people in every village and in every town ran to arms; the whole kingdom exhibited a scene of terror and confusion, and in London the shops were shut, and the doors of most houses barricadoed.

While the prince was marching leisurely towards London, the unwelcome news arrived, that the king had been seized by some fishermen at Feversham, as he was making his escape in disguise; and had been abused by the mob, till he was known; but that the gentry had interposed and protected him, yet refused to consent to his escape. This news being delivered to the council while they were sitting, they ordered lord Feversham, with two hundred of the king's life-guards and his coaches, to attend him; and to leave it to himself either to retire abroad, or to return*. He chose to return to London; and on his arrival there, the populace, actuated by their natural levity, received him with shouts and acclamations. The prince of Orange, who was at Windsor, on hearing of the king's being stopped, expressed his displeasure at the officiousness of those who had prevented the king from going off; and sent him a letter, not to come nearer

* Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs.

London than Rochester; but James did not receive it till he was in London.

While the king resided at Whitehall, little attention was paid him by the nobility, or any persons of distinction; and he himself discovered no symptoms of spirit. It was therefore resolved to make him resume his former resolution. The Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall; and Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere, delivered him a message from the prince, desiring him to leave the palace the next morning, and to depart for Ham, the seat of the dutchefs of Lauderdale. He desired permission, which was easily granted, to retire to Rochester. He lingered there for some days, under the protection of a Dutch guard, seeming still to expect an invitation to keep possession of the throne: but observing, that the church, the nobility, and the city, concurred in neglecting him, he submitted to his fate, and, on the twenty-third of December, embarked on board a frigate, which waited for him, and arrived safely at Ambleteuse, in Picardy, thence he hastened to St. Germain, and was received by Lewis with great expressions of regard.

Thus ended the reign of James; a prince who had some good qualities; for he was remarkable for his frugality of public money, his industry, his application to naval affairs, and his encouragement of trade. His advocates have even asserted, that he highly valued himself on his sincerity, though his whole
reign

reign was a continued violation of his reiterated promises of preserving the liberties and religion of the nation. So lofty was the idea which he had entertained of his authority, that it left his subjects, in his opinion, no right to liberty, but what was dependent on his sovereign will and pleasure. He confined all power, encouragement, and favour, to the Catholics, and violated every consideration of justice and prudence, by his bigoted zeal in promoting the Popish religion. But even where religion was not concerned, he was obstinate, proud, vindictive, cruel, and unrelenting. He acted in defiance of the laws and constitution of the kingdom; burst in sunder all those ties which unite subjects to their sovereign, and made it necessary for them to exert themselves in defence of every thing most dear and valuable, by shaking off the yoke of an arbitrary tyrant. In short, if people have a right to the possession of their own property, till they part with it by their own consent, or by that of their representatives; if they have a right to the blessings of religious and civil liberty, and kings were only appointed for the purpose of defending them; the people of England had a right, from nature, from reason, and the calls of duty, to expel a monarch who made it his business to destroy what he was bound to defend. But on the other hand, if subjects were created only for the advantage and the pleasure of kings; if these have a divine right to be tyrants, as some have asserted, and subjects are appointed by heaven

heaven to be slaves, James had reason to complain of being deprived of the throne, and stripped of the infernal power of rendering millions unhappy at his pleasure.

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

The ordinary revenue of Charles the Second was about 1,200,000 l. a year. That of James was raised by the parliament to about 1,850,000 l. ; and his income of duke of York being added, made the whole amount to two millions a year. The national debt at the revolution amounted to 1,054,925 l. The increase of coinage during these two reigns was 10,261,000 l.

The recovery or conquest of New York and the Jerseys, was a considerable accession to the strength and security of the English colonies ; and the settlement of Pennsylvania and Carolina, during the reign of Charles II. without any assistance from the crown, extended the English empire in America ; and the persecution of the dissenters, peopled these colonies. According to Dr. Davenant, the shipping of England encreased more than double during these reigns.

Several manufactures were, in this period, established in iron, brass, paper, silk, and hats. The duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glass and crystal ; and prince Rupert, who was an encourager of useful arts, was the inventor of etching. One Brewer brought from the Low Countries the art of dying woollen cloth.

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In 1677, the old law for burning heretics was repealed, on account of the continual dread the nation was under of the return of Popery.

Amidst the bigotry and ignorance which overspread the nation, there arose the greatest geniuses that ever illuminated mankind. The force of reason and true philosophy burst thro' the clouds of ignorance, and spread the rays of science not only over England, but over all Europe. During the commonwealth and protectorship, a few philosophers at Oxford cultivated their reason, and met together, for the mutual communication of their discoveries. These philosophical conversations were promoted by doctor Wilkins, who had married Cromwell's sister, and was afterwards bishop of Chester. These philosophers, immediately after the restoration, procured a patent, and were denominated the Royal Society: but this patent was all they obtained from the king, who had neither money, nor regard for literary merit. Besides Wilkins, Wren and Wallis, who were eminent mathematicians, there were Hooke, an accurate observer of microscopes; Sydenham, the restorer of true physic; Boyle, Newton, and Locke.

Boyle improved the air-pump, invented by Otto Guericke: his chemistry is much admired by those acquainted with that art: his hydrostatics contain a greater mixture of reasoning, founded on experiments, than any other of his works.

Newton was the most extraordinary genius that ever arose, for the ornament and instruction

tion of the human species ; and was the greatest philosopher that ever exhibited the wonders of nature to mankind.

Locke investigated the human mind, and improved the powers of reasoning, by distinguishing truth from error ; removing the clouds of sophistry, and the idle distinctions in logic and metaphysics. He explained the nature and foundation of government, by unanswerable arguments ; and in a small treatise on toleration, vindicated the rights of religious liberty with greater clearness and precision, than ever was done by any author in this or any other country.

The infamous licentiousness, indulged and applauded at court, was destructive to the refined arts ; and most of the celebrated poets of this period had a bad taste, and shewed an entire disregard to decency. Dryden, who stands in the foremost rank, was distinguished for the greatness of his talents, but his plays are very indifferent ones, and the greatest part of his works were wrote in haste, and want the beauties he was capable of giving them, and which shine with surprizing lustre in his few finished pieces.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.



BOOK VIII.

From the Revolution to the Death of
Queen Anne.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM III.

The Convention summoned. The Bill of Rights formed; the Government settled, and William and Mary proclaimed King and Queen of England. The King's first Ministry; his Regard for Liberty: He attempts to have the Inconveniences of the Test Act removed from the Protestant Dissenters; and at last obtains for them



WILLIAM III.

them the Act of Toleration. The Manner in which he took the Coronation Oath of Scotland. The Siege of Londonderry. The Sea Fight of Bantry Bay. The Battle of Killcranky, in Scotland. Schomberg's fatal Encampment at Dundalk, in Ireland. Many of the Clergy refuse to take the Oaths to King William. The King endeavours in vain to produce an Union between the Church of England and the Dissenters, and to obtain an Act of Oblivion in Favour of those who had been most attached to the late King. William, disappointed in every Thing, resolves to resign the Crown to his Queen; but at length changes his Ministry. He sails with an Army to Ireland. The English and Dutch defeated at Sea, near Beachy-Head. The Battle of the Boyne. The French burn Tinmouth. The King makes an unsuccessful Attempt to storm Limerick. The Earl of Marlborough's Expedition. A Conspiracy. The Siege of Athlone. The Battle of Agbrim. Limerick taken. Massacre of Glenco. The Victory of La Hogue. The Battle of Steenkirk. The Siege of Heidelberg. Benbow bombards St. Maloes. The Death of Queen Mary. The Reduction of Namur. A Plot for the Assassination of King William. The Death of the Duke of Gloucester, and of King William, with his Character.

WE have seen, during the four last reigns, a continued struggle between the prince and the people, a struggle which cost one of those kings his life, and obliged his son to

leave the crown, and fly from his kingdom. The revolution which now took place, forms a new and most glorious epocha in the constitution, and was attended by consequences, which, it is to be hoped, will extend their happy influences till time shall be no more. The great precedent of the people's deposing one king, and establishing another family on the throne, has ascertained their liberty and their power, and at the same time that it has enabled them to recover and improve their ancient constitution, has placed it upon the most solid basis, the basis of national freedom, and the unalienable rights of mankind.

The prince of Orange, who had before delivered his native country, had no sooner, by his courage and abilities, dethroned James, though he had a numerous army and a formidable fleet, than he found himself in a delicate situation. He had declared in his manifesto, that the chief end of his expedition, was the calling of a free parliament: but to assemble it upon the writs which had been issued by the king, was to acknowledge his authority, and to call it by his own authority, might have the appearance of usurpation. The prince's good sense, which always served him most when he most stood in need of it, extricated him from this difficulty: there was already a house of peers assembled; and, in order to supply the form of a house of commons, he, the same day that news arrived of the king's flight from Rochester, summoned those who had been members of any of the parliaments of Charles the

Second,

Second, together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, to meet him three days after at St. James's. This assembly addressed the prince, that he would, in his own name, call a convention of the States, to meet on the 22d of January, and that he would, in the mean time, take upon himself the administration of all public affairs. The prince thus supported by all the legal authority which could possibly be obtained in this critical juncture, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were universally complied with. A profound tranquility prevailed throughout the kingdom; and the army submitted to be new modelled, without murmur or opposition.

On the meeting of this convention, thanks were unanimously given by both houses to the prince of Orange, for the deliverance which he had brought them; after which a vote was passed by a great majority of the commons, and sent up to the peers for their concurrence, which contained these words. "That king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and having, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote met with great opposition from the lords; but by the perseverance of the lower house, it was at length passed by a majority

majority of fifteen in the upper house ; and received the sanction of every part of the legislature.

The prince had suffered the new elections to be carried on with great freedom and tranquillity : the troops had been ordered to depart from all the towns where the voters assembled : he entered into no intrigues either with the electors or the members, and was so far from forming cabals with the leaders of parties, that he did not bestow caresses on those who might be of the greatest service to him ; he even appeared as if he was not in the least concerned in these transactions.

At length the prince called privately together Halifax, Shrewsbury, Danby, and a few more, and told them, “ That having been invited
 “ over to restore their liberty, he had engaged
 “ in this enterprize, and had at last happily
 “ effected it : that it belonged to the parliament, now freely chosen, to concert measures for the public settlement ; and he
 “ would not interpose in their determinations :
 “ that he had heard of several schemes proposed for establishing the government : some
 “ insisted on a regent during the king’s life.
 “ He had no objection : it might be a wise
 “ project : but if he was the person intended
 “ for the office, he thought proper to let them
 “ know, he would accept of no dignity dependent upon the life of another. Others,
 “ he understood, proposed to settle the princess
 “ alone on the throne, and admit him to a
 “ participation of power through her courtesy.
 “ Her

“ Her rights he would not oppose : her virtues
 “ he respected : no one knew them better than
 “ he did : crowns to others had charms : to
 “ him they had none : but he thought it pro-
 “ per also to let them know, that he would
 “ hold no power dependent on the will of a
 “ woman. Therefore, if either of these
 “ schemes were adopted, he could give them
 “ no assistance in the settlement of the nation ;
 “ but would return to his own country, happy
 “ in the consciousness of the services he had
 “ endeavoured, though in vain, to do them.”

This being represented to both houses, the
 convention passed a bill, in which they settled
 the crown on the prince and princess of Orange,
 the sole administration to remain in the prince :
 the princess Anne to succeed after the death of
 the prince and princess of Orange ; her poster-
 ity after those of the prince's ; but before those
 of the prince by any other wife.

The commons, before they agreed to the
 above settlement, determined to make conces-
 sions to liberty, the condition of the transfer
 of the crown ; and therefore wisely formed a
 declaration of the rights of the subject upon
 the chief articles in dispute between the king
 and the people. This bill of rights, the great
 compendium of our ancient constitutional li-
 berties, maintained, that the suspending and
 dispensing power, as exercised by king James ;
 all courts of ecclesiastical commission ; the
 levying of money, or maintaining standing
 forces in time of peace, without consent of
 parliament ; grants of fines and forfeitures be-
 fore

fore conviction ; and juries of persons not qualified or not fairly chosen, and who, in trials of treason, were not freeholders, were unlawful. It asserted the freedom of election to parliament, the freedom of speech in parliament, and the right of the subject to bear arms, and to petition his sovereign. It provided, that excessive bail should not be required, nor excessive fines imposed ; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted ; and it concluded with the great security of English liberties, that parliaments should be frequently assembled.

The tender of the crown, and the declaration of the liberties of the subject, was thrown into one instrument of government. The same day upon which this instrument passed the convention, the princess of Orange arrived from Holland ; and the day after her arrival, the two houses went in state, to make a free gift of the crown to the prince and princess. They began by reading aloud the instrument of government, in order to intimate to the sovereigns, the conditions upon which it was given. Lord Halifax made the tender of the crown, and the prince and princess were instantly proclaimed by the names of William and Mary, king and queen of England ; when, to augment the splendor of the ceremony, both houses attended the proclamation.

The constitution of this kingdom now assumed a new aspect. Liberty reared her head, and rose triumphant. The slavish opinion of an hereditary, indefeasible right, was renounced by a free convention of the nation, and the power



power of the crown acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people; while allegiance and protection were declared to be reciprocal ties, which depended upon each other.

William was, however, scarcely seated upon the throne, when he experienced the truth of that well known maxim, "That crowns are encircled with thorns." He was instantly teased by the humours as well as by the parties of his new subjects: the number of the great who had ventured their lives and fortunes in the revolution, or whom it was of consequence to reconcile to it, were so considerable, that it became impossible to gratify the expectations of the former, or to hold out sufficient temptations to the latter. Hence some of them complained of the king's ingratitude, and others of his neglect. All eyes were intent upon the choice he would make of his ministry; and for that reason he was embarrassed. To mix whigs and tories together, men suspecting and suspected, hating and hated by each other, was full of difficulties. To trust his service to the tories alone, many of whom seemed averse to his title, appeared dangerous. To trust it to the whigs alone, was to declare himself the head of a party, and to give countenance to a suspicion, that he intended to govern by those who had chiefly raised him to government. The fear of appearing ungrateful prevailed: he threw almost all power into the hands of the whigs; lord Nottingham being almost the only one who evidently opposed the king's elevation,

tion, who was brought into administration. He and lord Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state. The archbishop of Canterbury was put upon the list of the privy-council, less from attention to him than to his order. The privy-seal, which, in the late reign, had been taken from Halifax, was restored to him, and lord Danby placed at the head of the council-board: arrangements which pleased neither the whigs nor the tories. Danby, who wished for his old staff of lord treasurer, thought his services ill requited; and to make him reparation, he was created marquis of Caermarthen. In order to make room for such persons as had real merit in promoting the revolution, the treasury, the admiralty, and even the chancery, were put into commission. By strange reverses of fortune, Burnet, who had been proscribed by the late king, was made a bishop; Sir Patience Ward was chosen one of the representatives in parliament for London, and Pilkington, lord mayor of that city, in which the one had been pilloried, and the other fined 100,000 l. for an offence against the duke of York. Military preferments were given to lord Churchill, but they were not suited to his ambition; and no notice was taken of his lady, who continued as usual in the family of the princess Anne. But though Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Halifax and Danby, appeared the public ministers of government, the king, in secret, put his real confidence in friends more anciently, and more sincerely attached to him; and chiefly in Mr. Sidney and in Bentinck, a native

native of Holland ; the first of whom was created lord Sidney, and the last lord Portland. But what gave universal satisfaction, was the nomination of the judges : each privy-counsellor was directed to bring in a list of twelve ; and from these lists the judges were selected ; all men of ability, dignity, and popularity.

One of the first bills which passed both houses, was converting the convention into a parliament. The whigs began with desiring the king, to bestow a donative upon the foreign forces, and to send them out of the kingdom ; and then proceeded to enquire into the faults of the two late reigns, ranged them under several different heads, and appointed a committee to enquire who had committed them. They named another to prepare accusations against those adherents of the late king, who were already in custody ; and to incite private persons to ask redress for the injuries they had suffered, they appointed a third to receive their complaints : votes by which, in the course of a few days, one half of the nation seemed to make a furious attack on the other. But the king embraced an opportunity of suspending the mutual animosities of parties, by directing all their resentment against the common enemy. Having received intelligence, that the late king had sailed from Brest for Ireland, he immediately communicated the news to both houses ; and taking advantage of James's having a few French officers with him, added, that the invasion was supported by a French force. At the sound of the words *French force*, all domestic

the animosity seemed instantly to cease; and each vied with his neighbour in manifesting zeal for the new government, and rage against that foreign power, which was attempting to subvert it. Both houses, therefore, unanimously made an offer of their lives and fortunes to the king.

William, in his answer, assured them, that he would never abuse the confidence they should place in him, nor ever expect any thing from them but what it was their interest to grant. He urged the parliament to hasten the preparations for war, and the settlement of the revenue. To reduce Ireland, he demanded 20,000 men, and a powerful fleet to be joined with that of the Dutch, in order to guard the seas against France. On his mentioning the Dutch, he said, They had neglected their own safety, to relieve England from the extremity she was under. By this service they had drawn inevitable destruction upon themselves, unless it was now repaid: the ruin of Holland was, by her enemies, intended as a step to that of England: "They have really, continued he, exhausted themselves to a degree which is not easy to be imagined; and I am confident your generosity towards them will have as little bounds as theirs had towards you."

About the same time the king sent a message to desire the commons, that in settling the revenue, they would either take away or regulate the tax of hearth-money; a tax which produced 200,000 l. a year; but as the officers

ficers of the revenue, in levying it, were at liberty to enter private houses when they pleased; it was deemed inconsistent with English liberty. Yet even the popularity of this wise offer was made the subject of party division in parliament. The whigs insisted on relieving the people, and the tories contended, that the burthen should be continued, under the pretence, that this was a surer fund upon which money could be borrowed, than any other. The people having been accustomed to see their princes pressing taxes upon them, instead of removing taxes, were sensibly affected with this well timed generosity of their new sovereign. Hence the whigs prevailed: both houses presented an address of thanks to the king; and the example was followed by the city of London.

William, soon after, discovered another instance of his attention to the liberty of the people. Having caused some persons to be seized upon suspicion of treason, he sent to inform the house of lords of what he had done, using these expressions, "That being extremely tender of doing any thing which the law did not fully warrant, he acquainted their lordships with what he had thought himself under the necessity of doing, for the public peace and security of the government." For a monarch to revere the laws, is to respect the people: both houses, therefore, joined in an address of thanks, for this delicacy in the king, and suspended the *habeas corpus* act for a month; a favour granted to administration, for the first time, since the act had been passed.

William, as soon as he came to the throne, had signified in council his desire, that all Protestants should be indiscriminately capable of holding offices; and soon after he gave a public declaration of his sentiments. For, going to parliament while the lords were adjusting the new oaths, he made a speech, in which were these words: "As I doubt not you will sufficiently provide against Papists, so I hope you will leave room for the admission of all Protestants that are willing and able to serve. This conjunction in my service will tend to unite you among yourselves, and to strengthen you against your common enemies." The day before a committee had been appointed to add to the oath bill, a clause for taking away the necessity of the sacramental test; but after this speech, the clause was rejected by a great majority. A similar clause was afterwards offered as a rider, but met with the same fate, though the city of London sent up a petition to the house of commons, that the king might be at liberty to use indiscriminately the service of all his Protestant subjects. While the commons were adjusting the coronation oath, part of which was, that the king should maintain the Protestant religion, the church party, in order to bind the king to the maintenance of the church of England alone, added these words, as "established by law;" upon which the dissenters, to preserve themselves from the consequence of this addition, strove to have added, "That nothing in the act should be understood to disable the king from assenting

" to

to any bill presented by parliament, for altering any form or ceremony of the established church, provided her doctrine, a liturgy and episcopal government be preserved ;” but they were over-ruled ; and of all the king’s schemes for the reconciliation of his Protestant subjects, he was only successful in that of a toleration ; the bill for which passed both houses without opposition : for the friends of liberty, to gratify the tories, by meeting them half way, consented to conditions which rendered it very incomplete. In that act of toleration, which still subsists, so little regard was paid to the sacred and indubitable rights of conscience, that all the dissenting ministers were bound to subscribe to the doctrinal part of the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. And the persecuting statute of Elizabeth not being repealed, those ministers who could not subscribe, were, and are still, liable to heavy fines and imprisonments.

The king found no less difficulty in reconciling the political differences of his subjects. A few days after his speech in favour of the dissenters, he graciously sent a message to both houses, recommending an act of indemnity. As the magnanimity of this measure could not be decently opposed in public, both houses gave him an address of thanks. Yet some members of the upper, and many of the lower house, privately concerted measures to disappoint that mercy, for which they had publicly thanked their sovereign.

In the mean time a free convention had been summoned in Scotland, and the coronation oath directed to be administered to William, who, upon this occasion, raised his character in the opinion of all the consistent friends of liberty. The administration of the coronation oath of Scotland was a ceremony attended with much awe; the king holding up his right hand, while he swore, and repeating each word in a solemn slow manner after the person who read it. It contained a clause, that the king should root out heretics. At these words the king stopping the earl of Argyle, who was administering the oath, declared, that he did not mean to oblige himself to be a persecutor. The commissioners answering, that such was not the meaning of the oath: "Then, said the king, I take it in that sense only:" an answer highly becoming a sovereign prince.

The king resolved to turn the rage of the nation upon the continual object of its aversion and jealousy; and the parliament, though divided in every thing else, was unanimous in favouring his inclination to a war with Lewis, his most implacable enemy; and both houses, in an address, assured him of their supporting a war against France. The king could not conceal his joy on this occasion. The empire, Spain, Holland, and the elector of Brandenburg, united at the same time against France; and many other princes prepared to join them.

James had arrived at Kinsale, in Ireland, on the twelfth of March 1689, where he found every thing equal to his wish; Tyrconnel, the lord

lord-lieutenant, devoted to him; his old army steady, and a new one raised, making together 30,000 foot, and 8000 horse. The Protestants in the greatest part of Ireland disarmed, and Ulster alone resolved to oppose him; no English troops were in the kingdom, no fleet on the coast. He made his public entry into Dublin with great magnificence, and was received by a pompous procession of Popish bishops and priests, in their pontificals, bearing the host. Most of those who were ill affected to James's government, now retired in to England and Scotland; but the bravest of the Protestants, to the number of 10,000, assembled round Londonderry, where they resolved to make their last stand for their religion and liberty; a few also gathered together at Inniskilling; and after the first panic was over, by the junction of others, became more numerous.

King William had appointed colonel Lundie governor of Londonderry; but he having been one of Tyrconnel's officers, had quitted king James's interest only with a view to serve him more effectually. As James's army advanced towards Londonderry, Lundie abandoned pass after pass, till, on the 13th of April, he entered the town. Two English regiments arriving from England in the lake, which makes a communication between the sea and the town, Lundie represented to the officers the weakness of the place in military stores, and in provisions; proposed, that all the officers should privately withdraw, and that messengers should be sent to king James, with an offer to surrender

der the town the next day. But the town-clerk, who had been present at these councils, assembled a number of the people the next morning, and informed them of every thing that had passed. The inhabitants, and many of the soldiers of the garrison, crying, they were betrayed by those who were bound to defend them, arose in a fury against the governor; and this was followed by the loudest uproar: while some were framing the terms of surrender, others were planting guns on the walls: in one place the multitude was pressed to yield to necessity; in another, voices were heard calling to fire upon those who proposed it.

In the mean time James was seen slowly advancing with his army, to take possession of the town. At this instant advice was brought, that on the opposite side, the brave captain Murray was advancing with impetuosity, at the head of a body of horse, to prevent the surrender. Lundie sent him orders to retire; but great numbers stretching out their arms from the walls, and calling upon him and his followers to advance to their relief, he entered the place. In passing the gate, he called, in broken speeches, to the multitude who surrounded him, to remember glory, safety, religion, their country, themselves, and their posterity. He pointed to different persons to secure the gates, to run to arms, to mount the walls, to point the guns. He directed all who would defend the town, to distinguish themselves by tying a white cloth round their left arm. The multitude,

tude, kindled by the ardour of Murray's spirit, rushed to obey his orders, fired upon king James's army, killed an officer by his side, and obliged him to retire. In the midst of this confusion, Lundie stole off with a load on his back; many of the officers and others withdrew; and above 7500 militia in arms, remained to defend the place against an enemy who was once their king, and was at the head of 20,000 regular forces. Londonderry was weak in its fortifications, and weaker in its artillery, there being only twenty serviceable guns on the works: near 20,000 unarmed men encreased the numbers, and diminished the strength of the place. But its best defence lay in the minds of its defenders. They offered the command of the place to captain Murray; but he would only take the command of the horse. Major Baker was chosen governor, but modestly begged for an assistant; and the garrison, under the impressions of religion excited by danger, chose Mr. Walker, a clergyman, to assist him. These men formed the garrison and the inhabitants into a number of regiments, proportioned to that of the bastions; and to create the greater emulation, assigned different parts of the works to different regiments, which they alone were to defend. They repaired their fortifications and artillery, alarmed king James by continual sallies in the day, in the night, in fogs, and in rain. They destroyed his works, and continually harrassed his troops. Murray flew from man to man, and from body to body. Walker assembled,
and

and animated them at his sermons, preaching with a drawn sword in one hand, and a Bible in the other. Murray cried out, "That it was not a few military evolutions, nor the movements of arms by rule, the mere parade and foppery of war, which made soldiers; but strong bodies, stronger minds, the contempt of dangers and death: that disciplined troops had no advantage over a militia, where the defenders fought behind walls; a situation in which those who could bear most fatigue, and durst stand longest to their posts, must, in the end, prevail in the contest." Walker pointed to their churches, to the sky: "These were the holy fanes from which their enemies were to drive them, if they survived the disgrace: this the asylum prepared for them by their God, if they died with glory in his cause." The young animated the old: the old gave counsel and praises to the young: all were fired by hatred of the Popish religion, and zeal for their own. James continued his attack, without success, during eleven days; and then went to meet his parliament in Dublin, leaving Hamilton to continue the siege.

News being received in England, that the French were preparing to send stores and troops to the assistance of James in Ireland, admiral Herbert was dispatched with a fleet, in quest of that of the French, which was to conduct the embarkation; and a battle was fought near Bantry-bay, on the first of May, which lasted till the evening with equal success. The Eng-
lish

lish retired towards Scilly, the enemy to Ireland, where they made good their embarkation, and returned unmolested to their own country. In this engagement no ships were lost on either side, though several were disabled.

In the mean time, general Kirk had been sent to the defence of Londonderry with provisions, and a reinforcement of 5000 men; but did not arrive in the lake of Derry till the 13th of June. Upon seeing his fleet, which consisted of thirty sail, the besieged gave the usual salutations of joy; but observing them received with silence, and no jovial returns made by the seamen, they looked at each other with foreboding eyes. They were soon after informed, that Kirk, upon receiving information that the passage of the river to the town was secured by works, had resolved to retire to the Inch, an island six miles from Londonderry. These works were batteries along the banks, vessels sunk in the channel, and a boom thrown across the river, defended by two forts. Upon this sad news, the besieged made signals of distress from their steeples to Kirk, but in vain. He sent the townsmen a letter, to inform them, that succours beyond their wishes would speedily join them; but concluded with charging them to husband well their provisions, and this alarmed them more than all the menaces of the enemy. They did not, however, give themselves up to despair: not contented with making sallies and defending the old works, they even raised new ones, and became expert in fortification and mining. The women attended every

every service, animating the men by their cries, and often assisting them with their hands. The garrison and the inhabitants spent all their spare time in private prayer, or public devotion. About the middle of June, when the weather grew sultry, they were seized with diseases, and buried fifteen officers in one day. Among the dead was Baker, their governor. Their provisions being spent, they preserved life by eating horse flesh, starch, tallow, salted hides, and impure animals.

James, tired with the tediousness of the siege, sent marshal Rosen, his commander in chief, in the end of June, to proceed with more vigour. Rosen invested the place more closely, and made many furious, but ineffectual, assaults. At length, provoked by the bravery of the garrison, he gave orders, that all the inhabitants, ten miles round Londonderry, should be driven under the walls of the town: he ordered the houses to be burned, and proclaimed, that if the town did not surrender within ten days, all its inhabitants should be put to the sword. According to some 5000, or to others 7000, miserable Protestants, men, women, the old, the young, even the sick, and women with infants hanging on the breast, were all driven on by drawn swords to the walls of the town. James's army was seized with horror, and the besieged, inspired with fury. Many of the prisoners called to their friends, on the walls above them, to attend to their own interest, and not to theirs. The besieged erecting a gibbet on the bastion nearest

nearest the enemy, gave orders to hang up whatever prisoners fell into their hands, and wrote to the enemy to send priests to confess them. During two days and two nights, the unhappy victims of Rosen's cruelty continued at the foot of the walls, without meat, drink, fire, or shelter, where many hundreds of them died. At the end of that time, those who were able were permitted to go. As they wandered homewards, they beheld on all sides their habitations in ashes, the distant smoke of some not extinguished, their cattle, furniture, provisions, carried off; and an awful silence reigning over the land. Thus distressed on every side, these unhappy people envied their companions who were at rest from their miseries. It is said, that James revoked the order as soon as he heard of it; and that his own sufferings had taught him to feel for those of others*.

Kirk, at length, resolved to throw a convoy of provisions into the place, by means of three victual frigates, and a man of war to cover them. These vessels approaching the town, on the thirteenth of July, the Irish army hastened to that side to oppose them. That part of the garrison which was not upon duty, ranged themselves along the walls nearest the river, with eyes intent, and hands lifted up to heaven, for the success of the convoy. The ship of war galling the enemy's batteries, drew their fire upon herself, and thus saved the victuallers,

* Walker. M'Kenzie.

the foremost of which, at the first shock, broke the boom, but ran a-ground, by the turn which this gave to her course. The smoke of the enemy's fire, and of her own, covered her from the sight of the besieged; and during this darkness and confusion, the besiegers called from the opposite side of the river, that the vessel was taken; upon which a shrill cry of misery, like the wailings of women, was heard from the walls. But, in a little time, the victualler was seen emerging from the smoke, having got off by the rebound of her own guns; and she and her followers sailed up to the town, amidst the cries of both parties.

The next day the enemy raised the siege, after it had lasted three months and a half. The garrison was reduced from 7500 men, to about 4000, of which 1000 were rendered unfit for service; and the remaining part of the garrison scarcely deserved to be called men; as, by watching and famine, they had rather the appearance of shadows. Of the unarmed multitude, about 7000 had perished by famine, diseases, or the shot of the enemy. The supply of provisions was received with grateful silence, as if it had been an immediate gift from heaven; the garrison, in a long and devout order, repaired in procession to church, checking the effusion of their joy, till they had returned thanks to God, their deliverer*.

The other Protestant Irish were filled with emulation, by the example of these brave

* Walker.

men. About this time 2500 Inniskilling men, commanded by colonel Wolfey, defeated 6000 of Tyrconnel's Irish troops at Newtonbutler, when 2000 were killed, 500 drowned in a lake, and 300 taken prisoners.

James, in the mean time, had assembled his Irish parliament at Dublin, and two acts were passed sufficient to throw that kingdom into the utmost confusion. The one dissolving the act of settlement, by which the lands forfeited for the rebellion which began in 1641, and had been vested in those who, upon a solemn trial and examination, had proved their right to them; and the other, the act of attainder, by which near 3000 persons forfeited their estates. The exercise of government corresponded with such laws; for the French advancing no money to James, the parliament granted him 20,000 l. a month; but this not being sufficient, he, by his own authority, levied by proclamation 20,000 l. a month more upon personal estates; and coined brass money, which, by another proclamation, he caused to pass at fourteen times its value, for a million sterling.

The fury of civil war was not confined to Ireland: James's arrival there was no sooner known in Scotland, than the impetuous lord Dundee marched with incredible swiftness, through different parts of the highlands, to rouse the highlanders to arms, and prevailed on great numbers to join him. Having at length received intelligence, that M'Kay was marching through Athole, to attack the castle

of Blair, then in the hands of one of James's adherents, Dundee foresaw, that the loss of that place would cut off the communication between the two divisions of the highlanders, in which his own strength chiefly lay; and having learned, that M'Kay was to advance the next day with his foot and a few horse through the pass of Killicranky, and that the rest of his horse was to follow him in a day or two after, he resolved to give him battle. This pass consists of an open road, in a nearly straight line, about two miles in length, where no more than six or eight men could, at that time, go a-breast. On the right, a mountain that seemed to rise to the skies: on the left, a precipice hanging over a deep river; on the opposite side of which is a prodigious mountain, covered on the top with waving woods, across which eagles and other wild birds are continually flying and screaming. Dundee was pressed by his officers to dispute the passage with M'Kay, but refused it. M'Kay's army, after marching from Dunkeld, in the morning of the 16th of July, and resting two hours at the mouth of the pass, began to enter it about noon. The soldiers marching through with awe, impressed with the grandeur and novelty of the scene, and with the consciousness of their own inability, to give assistance to each other, in case they should be attacked. They at length advanced, with slowness and caution, into the open field at the end of the pass; and observed Dundee's army on the side of a mountain opposite to them, in a short line, his men being

being fewer in number than M'Kay's, but they appeared more numerous than they were; because, though there were many vacancies along the lines, occasioned by spots of wood spread here and there upon the mountains; yet the imaginations of M'Kay's soldiers, filled all these vacancies with enemies. Dundee resolved not to fight till near sun-set, with a view, that if he gained the victory, he might render it dreadfully complete during the night; and if he was defeated, he might retire over the mountains without the fear of a pursuit.

M'Kay having observed the position of the enemy, formed the troops, which advanced first into the open field, into a line three men deep; and lengthened the line along the field, as more troops arrived successively from the mouth of the pass, partly with a view to out-flank Dundee, whose line he saw was short, and partly to prevent surprize, by making all the ground known to his army. Having continued in this position two hours, in which the two armies stood looking on each other, M'Kay suspecting Dundee's intention to take advantage of the night, and afraid to encamp, used various means to provoke the highlanders to an engagement, but in vain. At length Dundee detached his clans into separate bodies, removed them to the right and left, in thick order, leaving his center weak; and half an hour before sun-set, rushing down from the mountain, began the attack by columns, upon the wings of the enemy, with a view, that if either his center or his wing broke those of

his opponents, the battle might equally become irregular, and be decided hand by hand. In this he succeeded: his thick columns easily pierced through the thin files of the regiments, pressed on the sides those who stood, and turning round, met in the front those who began to fly; and thus, almost in an instant, hurried the enemy off the field. Lord Dundee, who had been foremost on foot in the attack, was the foremost on horseback in the pursuit; and pressed on for the mouth of the pass, to cut off their retreat. In a little time he perceived he had out-run his men; he stopped; he waved his arm in the air, to make them hasten their speed, pointing his hand to the pass. Being conspicuous in person and action, he was observed, and a musket-ball aimed at him, found entrance at an opening of his armour, beneath his arm-pit. He rode off the field, desiring his mischance to be concealed; and fainting, dropped from his horse. As soon as he recovered, he desired to be raised, looked on the field, and asked how things went? Being told all was well; "Then, said he, I am well;" and expired. The highlanders, falling in with the English baggage, now gave over the pursuit, and betook themselves to plundering. By this means, most of M'Kay's army got safely through the pass. Yet not above 2000 of them arrived at Stirling in a body with their general. In the battle 2000 were killed, and 500 taken prisoners: many of the fugitives were also killed or taken prisoners by the Athole men, whom Dundee had, the day before,

fore, ordered to be in readiness at the south end of the pass; and the rest dispersed.

The highland army afterwards descended into the low countries of Scotland, under the generals Buchan and Cannon, and were engaged in several actions; but these were indecisive, and after two languid campaigns, a peace was concluded.

The disorders in Ireland, the ill success of the fleet at Bantry bay, and the defeat at Killcranky, raised great discontents in the English parliament; and they imputed to the king and his ministers, what was owing to their own parsimony, and the inevitable distractions of a prince, who had only been a few months upon the throne, and who could take no vigorous measures without trembling, lest he should offend those laws which he had so lately avenged. The English also became extremely jealous of the Dutch, which was increased by the number of privateers fitted out by France; and which, notwithstanding the English and Dutch fleets, being joined, took many merchantmen.

William soon perceived, that he had too long neglected Ireland, and therefore resolved to prosecute the reduction of that kingdom with a force proportioned to its difficulty: but being afraid of sending the late king's army to fight against him, he ordered twenty-three new regiments to be raised. These regiments, with two Dutch battalions, and four of French refugees, were destined for the service. They were to be joined in Ireland by the Inniskillingers, and such regiments as could be spared from

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from Scotland, together with 6000 hired Danes, William gave the direction of the expedition to marshal Schomberg and count Solms, both foreigners. He honoured Schomberg with a dukedom and the garter; and the house of commons voted him a present of 100,000 l.

Schomberg arrived at Chester on the 20th of July, but found there almost nothing ready for his expedition; and after having stayed there twenty days, to hasten every thing necessary, set sail with no more than 10,000 men, of which only a few were cavalry; and with part of his artillery, leaving orders for the rest of the army to follow him as fast as possible. He arrived the next day in the bay of Carrickfergus; and about a week after his landing, laid siege to Carrickfergus, and took it in four days, with its garrison, which consisted of 2500 men.

From Carrickfergus Schomberg marched with his small army to Dundalk, amidst great difficulties, by which the soldiers were much discouraged. When he had continued ten days encamped near Dundalk, in vain expecting assistance to enable him to go forward, he had still the mortification of finding that no artillery, baggage, provisions or horses, arrived from England, and no aids from Scotland or Denmark. The Irish, who had retreated before him, now made a stand at Drogheda, and soon after advanced towards Dundalk. Schomberg, conscious of his danger, intrenched himself in a place strong by nature, which he made stronger by art, and resolved to wait patiently

tiently till the rest of the forces should arrive, and in the mean time to form his new levies to the arts and discipline of war. But the low damp situation of Dundalk, the moist climate of Ireland, the want of fuel, and of a sufficient allowance of provisions, threw the men into fluxes, of which many died; and the arrival of some troops from Londonderry, imported the contagion of an infected town into an infected camp. In the mean time the enemy, amounting to 40,000 men, encamped upon the adjacent heights, and tried many arts to provoke Schomberg to battle, but in vain. At last the Irish finding that all their attempts to bring him into action were fruitless, sat down in a camp near him, and falling into the same state of inactivity, were afflicted with the same diseases. The regiments which arrived from Britain being thin, were not sufficient to fill up the places of the dead. While they were in this situation, the rain, which fell in great quantities, obliged both armies to retire into winter quarters, after the English had lost above 8000 men, who died of diseases, and the Irish not much less.

The English were filled with indignation at this inglorious campaign, these misfortunes being chiefly attributed to several who had been the servants of the late king, and others of the tory party, who served the fleet and army, and obstructed sending the necessary supplies.

Mean while the time arrived for the clergy to take the oaths to king William, or to be suspended if they did not. Eight bishops, among

among whom were five of those who had been sent to the Tower by king James, together with a great number of the inferior clergy of the church of England, refused to swear, and many of those who complied, did it with a reservation of the distinction between a king *de facto*, and a king *de jure*.

Notwithstanding these appearances, the king proceeded in a scheme he had formed for uniting the church of England and the more moderate dissenters in the doctrine and ceremonies of religion. He appointed a commission of the clergy to prepare the terms of a comprehension; and though the house of commons addressed him for a convocation, only with a view to disappoint his scheme, he summoned one in hopes of success; but without effect.

The king, desirous of putting an end to the disputes which agitated the different parties, by burying all the misconduct of those who had the management of affairs in the former reign in oblivion, was disturbed by the zeal of the whigs in parliament, who insisted on enquiring into the delinquencies of the two last reigns, and by the tories, into those of the present. In the mean time no public bill, except the bill of rights, had passed the commons: the king, therefore, grew impatient, and exclaimed, that the public-interest was lost in the private passions of a party, and that a king, without a revenue for life, was no better than a pageant of state. At length William, pressed by the sense of recent affronts, and irrelative in the contention of parties, how to distinguish

tinguish his friends from his enemies, is said to have formed the project of quitting England, retiring to Holland, and leaving the queen to govern a people, whom he found himself unable to please or to manage. This project he communicated with tears to lord Shrewsbury, lord Caermarthen, and a few others, in hopes that they might soften the mutual animosities of the parties they conducted. They dissuaded him against it; but without laying aside the rage of party, each pressed as before for a declaration of the royal sentiments in their favour. Hence William at last formed the resolution of giving a preference to the tories, of calling a new parliament, of going over to Ireland, of leaving the queen to co-operate with the tory party, which, though seemingly averse to him, had been always favourable to the interest of her family. Soon after the king removed many from their places, and put tories in their stead.

At length the king sailed with three hundred transports and six ships of war to guard them, and arrived at Carrickfergus on the fourteenth of June 1690. A great number of other vessels of burthen joined him from different parts of England, with stores, provisions, artillery, and every thing necessary for a great expedition. The forces which sailed with him, or joined him in Ireland, amounted to 36,000 men, half of whom consisted of foreigners; for he had 10,000 Danes, 7000 Dutch and Brandenburgers, and 20,000 French Protestants. He took with him the prince

prince of Denmark, and a number of the English nobility and men of fashion, as volunteers. The French had prepared for his reception in Ireland, by sending thither a great quantity of warlike stores, some money, and 5000 of the best troops of France; and orders were given for more to follow them. The transports carried back an equal number of Irish troops: a device which strengthened James, without weakening France. The rest of James's army consisted of 45,000 men. William being eager to determine the war at a blow, kept all his troops together; but the late king wishing to protract it, in order to give time for insurrections in England and Scotland, and an invasion from France, kept only 27,000 men around his person, and sent the rest into garrisons, in the strongest parts of the kingdom.

The eyes of all Europe were now fixed upon Ireland, in which two warlike kings were to contend, as upon a public theatre, for empire, and where the singular spectacle was to be exhibited, of two sons fighting against their father-in-law. In the beginning of the war, the king gave orders to the captains of the navy, if they took James at sea, to preserve his person unhurt, and to carry him to Holland; and, in the course of the war, a captain of a ship offered to invite James on board his vessel, and then to sail off with him; but William received the proposal with indignation. On the other hand, some around James are said to have prompted him to consent to the assassination

of the king, but that he continually rejected the proposal with horror.

While the English were intent upon the fate of the Irish war, they were alarmed with the discovery of a conspiracy at home, in which several Scotch and English noblemen were engaged, and were to be assisted by the navy of France. The queen exerted herself with great vigour, in causing the principal conspirators to be seized. Upon this occasion, almost all distinctions of parties instantly subsided in England; and, as if the nation had been only one man, all seemed to unite for the support of government. Ten thousand Cornish tinnors offered, in an address, to venture their lives in defence of the throne: a little before, the officers of the navy had, in another address, abjured the late king: the common-council of London asked leave to raise the militia, consisting of 9000 men; and the lieutenancy to raise 6000 more: the citizens made a contribution to raise two regiments of cavalry; and the great body of the people gave every where unquestionable signs of their loyalty.

The truth of the conspiracy was confirmed by the arrival of the French fleet upon the coast of England, at the time and place which had been concerted. Lord Torrington was then at St. Helens with no more than forty ships of war, but was soon joined by sixteen more from Holland and the coast of England. A sharp engagement happened near Beachy-head, in which three of the Dutch fleet were burned, two of their admirals killed, and almost all

the rest of their ships disabled: the French spending all their fury against the Dutch squadron, and lying only on the defensive against the English. The next day the English and Dutch declined a second battle, and retired to the Thames, to defend the metropolis, and because in the mouth of the river they could better defend themselves against a force superior to their own. In the flight, the Dutch were obliged to burn three more of their disabled ships upon the coast, and the English one of theirs.

While the above engagement lasted, news had been carried almost every hour to London, of almost every motion they made; and hence the minds of the people were strongly agitated by their suspense, according to the hopes and fears of those who related the news: but when it was known, that the united fleets were flying for refuge to the Thames, were burning their own ships on their own coasts as they went along, to save them from the enemy, and that the French were triumphantly pursuing through the channel, a sudden despondency seized all; and it was believed, that France would pour all her forces, like a torrent, upon England, and that both Holland and that kingdom would fall victims to the fatal friendship of Lewis and James. The motions of the militia, which was raised along the coasts, and of the few regiments in the kingdom, most of which were ordered to take the same rout with the militia, only drew the attention of the people to the feebleness of the sole defence that
was

was left them. The army was in another country, separated from their own by seas, of which their enemies were masters ; the reins of government in the hands of a woman, whose councils were distracted by two implacable factions ; rebellion in one of the three kingdoms, and expected in the other two ; and an exiled master returning with power and with vengeance. These terrors filling the minds of the people, the British empire seemed to shake to its centre *.

In the mean time William having heard, that the French fleet was sailed, resolved, by his speed and vigour, to prevent the impression this might make upon the minds of his soldiers. On the day upon which all his troops from different quarters assembled at Loughbrickland, he joined them, and instantly threw a march into a review : he rode amongst the regiments as soon as they appeared, to encourage the soldiers, and to satisfy himself of the state of every regiment. An order having been brought him to sign for wine for his table, he cried aloud, “ No, I will drink water with my “ soldiers.” He slept every night in the camp, was all day on horseback, flew from place to place to survey the army or the country, and trusted nothing to others.

The Irish army, intent to gain time, fell back as William advanced, and at last James fixed his camp in a strong station on the other side of the Boyne : for, on his right a little

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

down the river, opposite to him, lay Drogheda, possessed by his garrison; and on his left, upon the same side of the river with him, a bog difficult to pass. In his front were the fords of the river, deep and dangerous, the banks of which were rugged, and bounded by old houses; the houses by rows of hedges; the hedges by a ridge of small hills, and the whole by the village of Dunore, which stood upon an eminence, and commanded the view of all below. In these different fortresses his army was placed.

The English army marched up to the opposite bank, where both armies had a full view of each other. William no sooner arrived than he rode along the side of the river, in sight of both armies, to make his observations upon the field, which was next day to determine James's fate and his own. The enemy observing him sit upon the ground while he was writing notes of what he observed, sent into a field opposite to him a body of horse, who carried two field pieces, concealed in their centre, which they dropped unperceived behind a hedge. These guns were pointed at his horses, and he no sooner mounted than they were discharged. The balls killed several of his followers, and one of them wounded him in the shoulder. Instantly a shout from the Irish camp rent the skies. A report that he was killed, flew through Ireland, and with incredible speed reached Paris. The guns of the Bastile were fired, the city was illuminated, and

and all men congratulated each other, as upon the greatest of victories.

William, as soon as his wound was dressed, rode through his whole camp, to undeceive his friends and his foes. He did not call a council of war till nine at night; and then, without advising with his officers, declared his resolution to force the passage of the river the next morning; and told them, that he would send every one his orders before bed-time. He directed the river to be passed in three places. Count Schomberg, son to the marshal, was at six in the morning to pass it at some fords which the king himself had discovered below Slainbridge, and to make his way to the pass of Duleek, with a view to attack the enemy behind, and cut off their retreat. Some hours after the centre, under the duke of Schomberg, in which the great body of infantry was placed, was to pass at the ford, between the two camps; because none but infantry could act upon ground broken and unknown. William himself was to go down the river with the left wing, composed of the rest of the cavalry, pass at a ford between the army and Drogheda, and flank the enemy while they were engaged. Things being thus disposed for the action of the next day, William, still anxious, and afraid that something had been omitted, rode through the camp by torch-light; and thus, by his vigilance and ardour, communicated the same dispositions to his soldiers.

Mean while James had thrown up some breast-works upon the banks of the fords, and

now gave orders, if his troops were driven from these, to retire to the line of houses; if from the houses, to the hedges; if from the hedges, to the range of small hills; if from these, to Dunmore; and if they could not make that station good, they were to retire to Duleek, and stop the pursuit, by defending the pass. James having commanded his 5000 French, who were veterans, and accustomed to works of defence, to place themselves in the breast-works and line of houses, the Irish cried out, The post of honour was theirs, and they would fire upon whoever attempted to take it from them. Thus James was obliged to place the only force on which he could depend behind the Irish, among the range of small hills, where they could not effectually serve him. James then took his station upon a height, at the church of Dunmore, from whence he could view the operations of both armies.

James perceiving count Schomberg march with a great body of troops towards Slain, imagined, that the whole army was taking the same route; and fearing to be attacked on the flank, and more still to be cut off from Duleek, he successively sent great bodies of troops to watch count Schomberg, and thus weakened his principal army. The count having outmarched the French, found little opposition in his passage of the river, and easily dispersed the few troops which first arrived to oppose him. He was first stopped by a bog; but finding it not impossible to be passed, he sent his cavalry round by a narrow tract of firm ground

ground at the back of it, and floundered thro' the bog with his infantry. His enemies, on the other side, discouraged at the boldness of the action, scarcely waited to be attacked, but made the best of their way to Duleek, while the count slowly pursued them.

William no sooner heard that count Schomberg was got over, than he sent orders to the advanced body of the centre to cross the river. The sudden resistance to the current swelled the river, so that some of the infantry passed it breast-high, holding their arms above their heads; the rest up to the middle; and many of the horses were obliged to swim. The Irish troops fled first from the breast-works and houses, and then from the houses, after firing in such confusion, that they killed not a man. The advanced bodies formed as fast as they got footing. But marshal Schomberg, anxious, and still doubting of success, did not cross the river, but kept his station with a strong body of troops, to give his assistance wherever it should be first wanted. General Hamilton, who commanded the Irish cavalry, enraged at the cowardice of the infantry, ordered brandy to be distributed amongst his dragoons, and then poured down upon his enemies, who were now got clear of most of the hedges, and were advancing into the open ground. At the same time new troops seemed to start from the earth; for the French, who had hitherto been undiscovered, rose to fight among the little hills, and advanced to support Hamilton's charge, with an order proportioned to his want of it.

This

This double shock threw William's center into disorder. The French Protestants were broken through, and the Danes, without waiting to be attacked, turned round, and fled back through the river, while part of Hamilton's dragoons plunged into it after them. Schomberg observing this confusion in the centre, halted to their relief. Callimotte, who commanded the French Protestants, and Schomberg, passed each other in the river unknown, and at a distance, the first mortally wounded, carried off in his soldiers arms, and calling to those who passed him, "*A la gloir, mes enfans, a la gloir !*" To glory, my children, to glory ! The other on horseback, in the deepest of the river, rallying the French Protestants, pointing out to them their countrymen in the Irish army, and crying out, "*Voila, messieurs, vos persecuteurs.*" These gentlemen are your persecutors. Mean while the part of Hamilton's dragoons which had entered the river, finding their career stopped, returned back ; and in their way, breaking through the French Protestants a second time, wounded Schomberg, and hurried him along ; when his own men firing upon them, without knowing he was amongst them, killed him. At length Hamilton's charge on the one side, and the relief which Schomberg had brought on the other, gave both parties time to rally, and prepare to renew the engagement.

While they were standing opposite to each other, William, who had passed the river below, appeared at the head of his cavalry, with
his

his sword drawn, enflaming his men with his voice, and preparing to fall upon the enemy's flank. At this sight, they retired to the strong station of Dunore. He followed with his cavalry : his infantry advanced, and in the mean time all the enemy's forces, except those that were retiring to Duleek, assembled from all quarters round James. The battle here lasted half an hour, representing in the standards the looks, the dresses, and the language of the combatants, the horrors both of a foreign and civil war ; for while different nations were, in some places, opposed to each other ; in others, British subjects fought with British subjects, and French with French. In the heat of the action, one of William's dragoons, mistaking him, clapped a pistol to his head, but the king turning it aside, said, calmly, " What, do you not know your friends ?" The Irish infantry at length gave way. Hamilton, with his cavalry, again attempting to recover the battle, had almost succeeded, but was taken prisoner. James seeing this, quitted his station, while the armies were yet fighting ; and leaving orders for his troops to defend the pass of Duleek, and afterwards to retreat to the Shannon, he himself with his principal officers fled. William, without losing time to put his troops in order, directed a pursuit from all quarters. The hurry of the flight, and of the pursuit, prevented the enemy from defending the pass of Duleek, and the victory became complete. Two thousand of the Irish were killed,

killed, and the English lost not above a fourth part of that number.

James went first to Dublin, and next to Waterford, breaking down all the bridges behind him, by the suggestions of the French officers, who, impatient to revisit their own country, hurried him from Ireland, and added wings to his fears. In the mean time the Irish army had fled directly to the Shannon. There they were joined by James's principal officers, who, after taking their farewell of him, returned to continue the war, and to explain the cause of his retreat. For James having unguardedly said, while he hastened through Dublin, That he would never more trust his fate to an Irish army: his soldiers, upon hearing it, exclaimed: "Complaints of cowardice came ill from the mouth of one who had been the first to fly from the battle, and the only person, not of foreign birth, who had fled from the kingdom; and that if the English would change kings with them, they would fight the battle over again*."

The day after the battle William made himself master of Drogheda; and a few days after entered Dublin.

The news of his success no sooner arrived in England, than all his unpopularity vanished: the queen and her ministers took advantage of the popular current; and in order to save the honour of national courage, which had suffered by the late engagement at sea, lord Torrington

* Story.

was committed to the Tower. She ordered the Dutch ships to be repaired at their own expence ; their wounded seamen were taken care of in hospitals ; rewards were given to the widows and children of those who had died in battle ; and conduct-money to the seamen whose ships had been burned, to carry accounts to their countrymen, of the noble disposition of that nation in whose cause they had suffered. The States, pleased with these attentions, fitted out eighteen new ships of war, and laid an embargo upon their trade till they were manned. But before the English and Dutch fleets could be ready, Lewis sent a fleet under Tourville, once more to brave the coast of England. It hovered a few days, spreading more resentment than fear ; and concluded by burning the little town of Tinmouth, on the twenty-fifth of July, with a few fishing vessels in the harbour.

In the mean while William sent general Douglas after the flying enemy, with ten regiments of foot and five of horse, to try if, by the suddenness of the motion, he could disperse them ; and marching south along the sea-coast, took Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannonfort ; and having put his fleet into places of safety, left the army, and returned to England. To this he was induced by his receiving intelligence, that the French fleet was a second time upon the coast ; but finding that they had gone away after burning Tinmouth, he returned to the army, and advanced to Limerick, around which most of the enemy's army was assembled.

sembled. General Douglas, who had in vain pursued them, and made an unsuccessful attempt upon Athlone, joined him before that city, to which the king laid siege, and on the 27th of August, the tenth day after the trenches were opened, he ordered a general storm at a breach twelve yards wide. The troops advanced boldly, carried the counterscarp, mounted the breach, and some of them entered the town; but the inhabitants animating the garrison, and more troops pouring into the town from the country behind, after a dispute of three hours, William was obliged to desist, with the loss of 500 of his English troops killed and a thousand wounded, besides the loss of the foreigners, which was probably as great. He raised the siege soon after, and the same day set off for England.

But short-lived was the triumph of the Irish. The city of Corke had been strengthened with works, both by the Irish and French, and had a garrison of 4000 men. However, lord Marlborough, knowing that there was a station which rendered the works of little advantage, pressed the queen and council to trust him with 5000 of the troops who were then lying idle in England, and pawned his reputation, that before winter he would take both Cork and Kinsale. They consented; and he arrived at Cork upon the 21st of September. He was joined by the duke of Wirtemberg with 4000 Danes; and they agreed to command alternately each day. From their ships, they stormed the fort which defended the harbour, and bombarded the

the town. From the station observed by Marlborough, they made a breach in the walls; and the army, under the cover of the batteries and two bomb-vessels, passed the river up to the arm-pits, to mount the breach. But at this instant the garrison hung out a flag, and surrendered at discretion.

The next day lord Marlborough sent brigadier Villers, with 500 horse, to summon Kinsale. The governor set fire to the old town, and retired to the two forts; one of which was taken on the 2d of October by storm: the trenches were opened on the 5th, and in ten days more the counterscarp being mastered, the garrison, consisting of 1500 men, surrendered; and was, by capitulation, permitted to retire to Limerick.

William, upon his return from Ireland, was received with joy by the people, in the counties through which he passed. He immediately assembled his parliament, which was now seized with a transport of loyalty. For the tories, to cement their friendship, exceeded the king's wishes, and the whigs did not oppose him, lest they should lose him altogether. Indeed, all wise men perceived the necessity of a national effort, from the dangers which the nation had so lately escaped. They therefore appointed four millions, the largest sum ever given by an English parliament, for the support of the army, which was to consist of 69,000 men, and of the fleet, which was to be manned by 28,000 seamen.

They also gave near 500,000 l. more for building seventeen new ships of war.

Lord Torrington was now brought to his trial, and made an excellent defence. He reminded the commissioners who formed the court-martial of the wounds he had received; pointed to the socket of the eye which he had lost in the cause of his country; proved his inferiority in strength to the enemy; and that all his captains had given their opinion against venturing a battle: hence he was acquitted. The king, however, dismissed him from his service, and placed Russel in his stead.

William having prorogued the parliament, went over to Holland in the middle of January 1691, to preside at the congress of the confederates against France; and to indulge the greatest pleasure of which the human mind is susceptible, his appearing before a people whom he had preserved and aggrandized, without invading their liberties. To strike foreigners with a greater idea of his state, he took with him a great number of the nobility and persons of rank, who, fond of expence, now indulged it, to shew their sovereign's pre-eminence and their own. The congress consisted of the principal princes of the empire; and the ministers of all the sovereigns of the confederacy against France. But the king of England distinguished himself, by being the soul which animated this vast body. At this congress the confederates resolved to bring into the field, the next campaign, an army of above 200,000 men; and agreed not to lay down
their

their arms against France till she had restored to all the neighbouring nations, what she had taken since the peace of Munster ; and till even the people of France should be restored to their ancient privileges.

William retired from the splendor of this congress, to enjoy the pleasures of solitude at Loo, where he had spent his infancy and youth ; but he was soon disturbed with the news, that Lewis XIV. had laid siege to Mons. William hastened to assemble his army to protect that town ; but before he arrived, the burghers had obliged the garrison to surrender ; and Lewis, who always appeared more desirous of mortifying than of conquering his rival, sent back his soldiers to their winter quarters, and he himself returned to Versailles.

No sooner had William left England, than a new conspiracy was formed against his government, in which were engaged several persons, both whigs and tories, with a number of the Scotch, in order to replace James on the throne, by the assistance of the French king. Ashton, and lord Preston, were committed to the Tower, and about a fortnight after brought to their trials. They were both condemned ; and Ashton was executed without giving any information. Preston, fluctuated between the hopes of saving his life, and his resolution to die after the example of his associate. During this interval, his daughter, who was then a young girl about court, looking one day upon king James's picture at Kensington, and queen Mary asking her what she was doing, she answered,

swered, " I am thinking how hard it is, that
 " my father should be put to death for loving
 " your father." At last Preston was brought
 into the presence of the king, who had come
 over for a few days from Holland; and being
 tempted with a pardon, and examined by lord
 Caermarthen, he mentioned, among the con-
 spirators, the bishops, Clarendon, and many
 of the known partizans of the late king: then
 mentioned, among his associates, the lords
 Dartmouth, Macclesfield, Dorset and Devon-
 shire; and offered to name others of the great
 whig families. Lord Caermarthen, who had
 been persecuted by that party, eagerly pushed
 him on to go to the bottom of the conspiracy;
 but the king, who stood leaning on Caermar-
 then's chair, touched him upon the shoulder,
 saying, My lord, there is too much of this;
 and with equal prudence and generosity, drew
 a veil over offences into which his subjects had
 been too hastily betrayed. Yet to prevent fu-
 ture mischief, he committed Clarendon and
 Dartmouth to the Tower. Dartmouth, soon
 after, died there; upon which the king order-
 ed the governor to pay to his body all the ho-
 nours of war due to an admiral of England*.
 The Scotch conspirators were treated by Wil-
 liam with equal generosity. Several of the no-
 bility had been seized †; but orders had been
 given to set them at liberty, if they would

* Collins's peerage.

† Books of Scottish privy-council, May 28, and
 June 25.

give their words of honour not to disturb the government.

William had committed the forces in Ireland to general Ginkell, with orders to make an end of the war at any rate; and for that purpose, not only furnished his army with recruits and stores, but sent an unlimited pardon to all who would ask the benefit of it. James had sent in the spring St. Ruth, a French general, who had signalized himself against the Protestants in France, to command the Irish army; but he being in want of money, stores and provisions, resolved on a war of defence, sent garrisons to the strongest towns upon the Irish side of the Shannon, and placed himself with his army behind Athlone.

Ginkell having taken Ballimore, and gained several other advantages, advanced, on the 19th of June, to Athlone, which consisted of two towns, one on the English, and the other on the Irish side of the Shannon. The English town on the hither side of the river was taken sword in hand, and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force a passage over the bridge, by means of planks thrown across the broken arch; but without success. At length it was resolved in a council of war, that a detachment of 2000 men should pass at a ford, a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a bastion erected for that purpose.

The forlorn hope consisted of sixty grenadiers in armour, headed by captain Sandys and two lieutenants; and they were seconded by another detachment, supported by six battalions of infantry. Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with greater courage and intrepidity. They passed twenty a-breast in the face of the enemy, thro' an incessant shower of balls, bullets and grenades. Those who followed them took possession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. Bridges of boats were fixed at the same time, that the troops might pass in different places. The Irish were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; and in an hour after the first man had entered the river, it was entirely evacuated, and in the possession of the English, who did not lose above fifty men in this attack. St. Ruth marched with his army to relieve the town; but on his approaching the walls, his own guns were turned against him, which he no sooner saw, than his fears encreased, in proportion to his former ideas of security. Believing that the same impetuosity of courage, which had excited the English to storm the town, might impel them to attack his camp, and that confidence and a habit of success are generally attended with victory, he instantly decamped; and having marched ten miles, arrived the same night at Aghrim; where, assembling all the garrisons from the neighbouring towns, he augmented his army to 25,000 men, and resolved to set the fate of Ireland upon one decisive

decisive battle. Ginkell having put Athlone in a posture of defence, marched up to the enemy, though his forces did not exceed 18,000 men. Upon his approach, he found that St. Ruth had chosen his station with wisdom, and taken every precaution that military skill could suggest. His camp extended along a rising ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large, and almost impassable, bog, over which there were only two passes. His right was fortified with intrenchments, and his left secured by the ruins of the castle of Aghrim.

Ginkell resolved, with the advice of the council of war, to attack them on Sunday, the 12th of July. As the Irish army stood upon an eminence, most of them perceived the approach of the English long before they arrived at the bog; and St. Ruth spent the intermediate time in making dispositions, and in imitating the ancient generals, by making a speech to his officers, while the priests ran through the ranks of the soldiers, obliging them to swear upon the sacrament, that they would not quit their colours; and to assure those who fell in battle, that the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven.

Ginkell's army marching to the right and left, thro' the two passes of the bog, St. Ruth allowed them to proceed, in hopes that, if he defeated them, their retreat through the bog would be difficult. As soon, therefore, as he saw the English left wing drawn up in the open ground,

ground, he detached almost all his cavalry from his left wing, to give greater strength to his right. M'Kay observing this, advised Ginkell to draw off part of his right wing to the left, to engage the enemy's attention still more upon that side; and in the mean while M'Kay caused the bog, through which he had passed, to be sounded; and finding it not impassable, ordered part of the troops under his command, to pass through the bog to a corn-field on the left of the open ground, where he was placed, and to keep their station there, till they saw that he had got forward, and was ready to flank their enemies in the hedges. General Talmash at the same time marched with a considerable body of troops, to make an attempt upon the castle of Aghrim. But the impetuosity of the English which M'Kay had left in the corn-field, made them forget his orders, and press forward upon the enemy, before their general had surmounted the difficulties of the broken ground. The Irish waited for them; and the first fire was exchanged through the first line of hedges; so that the ends of the muskets almost touched. The Irish, who had made openings in the hedges, and also communications between these behind, and to the right and left, retired to draw their enemies on. The English pursued; but in advancing, found that new bodies of horse and foot had taken posts in new places, while some of their former enemies had taken their former stations; and that volleys of shot were poured upon their front, their flanks, and their rear. They
struggled

struggled hard to make their ground good ; but at last gave way, returned to their station in the corn-field, and many of them even fled back through the bog. M'Kay hearing of their distress, returned to relieve them, and sent to entreat Talmash to turn to the left, and assist him in flanking the enemies in the hedges. All parts of the right wing then united their efforts : M'Kay's and Talmash's troops, to give safety to their friends, and the others, to recover the honour they had lost. The same obstinacy was maintained on the other side of the field. At length M'Kay, upon the right, gained ground ; as did Ginkell on the left ; both ascended the rising grounds, and in their approach drew nearer each other. This St. Ruth saw ; and to prevent their junction, descended with a strong body of troops from the heights where he had hitherto stood ; but in his descent was killed by a cannon-ball. The foremost troops, which he had been conducting, halted. The news that the general was killed, fled from rank to rank : his guards retreated with his body : the troops behind mistook the motion for a flight, and soon after the whole army fled : the English pursued them four miles, giving no quarter. In this battle and flight, seven hundred fell on the side of the English, and as many thousands on that of the enemy.

The Irish retired to Limerick, the only place of strength they had left ; where they resolved to make their last stand. Ginkell followed with as much haste as he could, taking
all

all the places which lay in his way, as fast as his troops appeared before them. Galloway alone stood a siege of two days, and then its garrison was permitted to go to Limerick, to add to the general confusion, and to produce a famine among those who were already there. Ginkell sat down before Limerick, upon the 25th of August, and spent the first week in providing security for himself, and cutting off assistance from the enemy. The two towns into which that city is divided, was soon laid almost in ashes. The Irish still defended it with vigour; but on the 17th of September, they desired to capitulate. The terms were soon adjusted; for Ginkell had orders to end the war upon any conditions; and they agreed to those which he himself proposed: these were, that all the Irish then in Ireland, in the service of James, should be pardoned; that their estates and effects should be restored; their attainders and outlawries reversed; and that all who inclined to go to France, should be landed there with their effects, at the expence of the English government. No less than 14,000 men took advantage of this last article. A few days after the capitulation, a French fleet of eighteen ships of the line, with arms for 30,000 men, and with stores of provisions and ammunition, arrived upon the coast, but came too late to be of service to the Irish. Ginkell was honoured with the titles of lord Aghrim and earl of Athlone, and Rouvigney, with that of lord Galloway; but the officers and soldiers were displeased, that Talmash and M'Kay were

were not taken notice of; and attributed it to their not being foreigners. Immediately after the capitulation of Limerick, the Irish war was declared at an end; and William was at last master of his three kingdoms.

While these decisive events passed in Ireland, Lewis XIV. acted on the defensive; and no action of importance passed between the confederates and the French. William forced marshal Boufflers to raise the siege of Liege; and, on the other hand, when he quitted his army at the end of the campaign, the French defeated one part of it, on its march to Cambron; but retired when they saw the other part come up to dispute the victory.

During the winter of 1691, an incident happened in Scotland, commonly known by the name of The Massacre of Glenco. The highlanders were not yet totally reduced; and the earl of Breadalbane sent a scheme for settling the highlanders, to Sir John Dalrymple, secretary of state, who was then attending his master in Flanders. The scheme was, that a pardon and 12,000 l. should be given to the highlanders in arms; most of which was to be applied to discharge the claims of the earl of Argyle upon their estates; and that pensions should be given to all the highland chieftains in Scotland, upon condition of their holding 4000 of their people disciplined for war, and ready to serve either at home or abroad; a wise plan, says a modern author, which, if it had been carried into execution, might have prevented the rebellions in 1715 and 1745, with

with the five hundredth part of the expence it cost the English to defeat them. Sir John Dalrymple adopted it, and laid it before the king, who sent for lord Breadalbane to Flanders, to adjust the terms. Breadalbane returned into Scotland; brought the treaty near to a conclusion; and a proclamation was published, in the autumn of 1691, declaring, that all rebels who took the oaths to the government before the first of January, should be pardoned.

In the mean time the duke of Hamilton, thinking that, perhaps, he could make better terms for his master, sent emissaries into the highlands, to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. The highland chieftains played a double game: they wrote to James for his permission to conclude a treaty, promising to observe it no longer than it was for his interest; and at the same time to make William jealous of his servants, informed the enemies of Breadalbane, that he concurred with them in asking James's consent to the treaty; upon which, accusations against Breadalbane were presented to the privy-council and the parliament, and sent to the king, who paid no regard to the accusation. But Breadalbane retained deep in his mind, the sense of the highlanders breach of faith, and the injury they had attempted against him. He communicated his own passions to Sir John Dalrymple; and the king, who had been long teased, and stopped in pursuits which he had more at heart, by the turmoils of Scotland, was himself irritated. A new scheme was suggested by lord Breadalbane,
adopted

adopted by the secretary, and assented to by the king, for cutting off all the highland rebels, who should not take the oaths to the new government within the time prescribed by the proclamation. The mode of the execution was intended to be, by what was called in Scotland, *Letters of fire and sword*: an inhuman, but a legal method, in the law of that country against attainted rebels*. The order was sent down to the privy-council, which, without remonstrating against it, appointed a committee to carry it into execution. It is probable, that some of the privy-council gave warning to the rebels of their danger: for all the attainted chieftains, with their people, took the oaths before the time prefixed, except M'Donald of Glenco, who was peculiarly obnoxious to lord Breadalbane; because there had been frequent wars between their families; and Sir John Dalrymple thought, that mercy would be thrown away upon them, from their being accustomed to make incursions into the low countries for plunder. However, on the last day of December, Glenco went to Fort William, and desired the oaths to be tendered to him by the governor; but he not being a civil magistrate, refused to administer them. Glenco then went to Inverary, the county town, to take them before the sheriff of the county; but by the badness of the weather, was prevented from reaching it till a few days after the term prescribed by the proclamation was elapsed. The

* Dalrymple's Memoirs,

sheriff at first scrupled, but at last was prevailed upon to receive his allegiance.

Glenco's enemies now took advantage of his not having literally complied with the terms of the proclamation; and a warrant for proceeding to execution was produced from the king, who does not appear to have known of Glenco's submission; and this warrant was signed both above and below with his own hand. This warrant was executed with many barbarous circumstances. In the month of February, two companies went, not as enemies, but as friends, to take quarters in the valley of Glenco, where all the clan lived. To conceal the intention the better, the soldiers were, of their own lineage, highlanders of lord Argyle's regiment; and captain Campbell, the commanding officer, was uncle to the wife of one of Glenco's sons. All were received with the rude, but kind, hospitality of the country. They continued in the valley near a fortnight; and then, in the night-time, rose to butcher their hosts; and slew thirty-eight men. The rest would have shared the same fate, had not the alarm been given by one of Glenco's sons, who heard one of the soldiers say to his comrade, "He did not like the work: he was not afraid to fight the M'Donalds in the field, but had scarcely courage to kill them in their sleep: their officers, however, were answerable for the deed, not they*." This execution

* This account of this unhappy affair, which has been greatly exaggerated, and misrepresented, by

cution made the deeper impressi^on, as the king, though he ordered an enquiry to be set on foot, the enemies of Glenco had such interest, as to prevent any one concerned in this barbarous massacre being punished.

France now taking advantage of a spirit of disaffection which prevailed among many of the great in England, projected an invasion of this kingdom in favour of James, and made prodigious preparations for that purpose. When these were nearly completed, James published a declaration, in which he promised, that all ecclesiastical preferments should be confined to members of the church of England; but with regard to securing the liberties of the nation, his words, though fair, were general and indefinite. He also offered a general pardon, with very few exceptions, to all who joined him.

Upon this, prodigious preparations were made both in England and Holland, to oppose the invasion. Advice-boats were dispatched to all the scattered squadrons within reach, to repair home to defend their country; others were stationed to cruize off the enemies ports, and mark every motion made there: all the ships at home were equipped or repaired; five new ones of the largest size were built with the

by the enemies of king William, we have extracted with the utmost impartiality from Dalrymple's Memoirs, whose authorities are records of the Scotch privy-council. *Manuscript correspondence between lord Breadalbane and lord Stair; general M'Kay's correspondence with lord Breadalbane, and relative papers.*

greatest dispatch: different Dutch squadrons were hastily got ready at Amsterdam, in the Maese, in North Holland, and in Zealand; and the command of both navies committed to admiral Russel.

The English and Dutch fleets, consisting of ninety-nine ships of the line, carrying above 7000 guns, and above 40,000 men, sailed, on the 18th of May, towards Cape La Hogue, and the next day came up with the French fleet of fifty ships of the line. Tourville, a French admiral who was in the Royal Sun, which carried a hundred and ten guns, and was the finest ship in Europe, passed all the English and Dutch ships which he found in his way, and bore down upon Russel; the engagement between the two admirals ships continued an hour and a half, when Tourville being obliged to retire, by the damage he sustained in his rigging, five French ships closed in while he was towed off. In the mean time the battle went on in different parts with uncertain success, from the great number of ships engaged; till a thick fog, at four in the afternoon, separated the combatants from the view of each other. In about two hours the fog cleared up; when it appearing, that the enemy was preparing to fly, Russel made a signal to chase from all quarters. In one of the engagements during this chase, rear-admiral Carter was killed, giving orders with his last breath to the officer next in command, to fight the ship as long as she could swim. This running engagement was interrupted by a fog, and afterwards by

by a calm; and in the end was closed by darkness.

The morning brought a renewal of the chase; but the French fleet was now reduced to thirty-four ships, four which had taken fire in the engagement being blown up during the night, and the rest having escaped. This day was signalized, by the English fleet driving that of the French along their own coasts, in the sight of innumerable crouds of their countrymen upon the shores. The French, in their flight, were met by a fresh squadron of sixteen ships coming to join them: but these perceiving the fate of their friends, also fled.

Upon the third day Tourville's ship, the Royal Sun, with his two seconds, one of ninety and the other of eighty-four guns, with some frigates, took refuge upon the coast near Cherbourg; and eighteen more of the largest ships followed their example near La Hogue: the rest being more fortunate, drove through the race of Alderney. Russel ordered the main body of the fleet, under Sir John Ashby, to pursue that of the enemy; and leaving Sir Ralph Delavalle with a squadron to destroy the ships at Cherbourg, stationed himself with another, to confine those at La Hogue. The next day Delavalle burned the three ships, together with the frigates at Cherbourg.

Upon the fifth day, Russel prepared to destroy the enemies ships at La Hogue, which were now reduced to thirteen; five of them having, in the hurry and confusion, made their escape. The French had used every method

to defend them : they were drawn up as far upon the shallows as possible ; and covered by the forts de Lisset and La Hogue : platforms were raised on shore, and planted with all the artillery of the army. Numbers of shaloups, with officers and men, lined the shoals : behind stood all the French army ready drawn up ; and upon an eminence stood James, the duke of Berwick, marshal Bellfonde, Tourville, and other great land and sea officers, to behold the action, and to give their orders. Russel committed the charge of the attack to vice-admiral Rooke, who gave a general order for the boats to advance, surround the enemy's ships, and board or burn them. The seamen strove with each other, whose barge should be foremost, and singled out the particular ships they were to attack, according to their fancy. As soon as they got to the ships, they, giving three cheers, scrambled up their sides, with their cutlasses in their hands. Some cut the rigging, others set fire to the vessels, others pointed the guns of the ships against the French shallops, platforms, and forts. At last they all joined in burning the enemies ships ; and having set fire to them, descended with the same huzzas with which they had boarded. Thus six ships were burned the first day, and the rest, with a great number of transports and ammunition ships, shared the same fate the next morning.

Russel ordered solemn prayers, and a thanksgiving through all his fleet, for the victory. In England, the queen gave a present of
30,000 l.

30,000 l. to the seamen; and public funerals were bestowed upon those officers whose bodies were brought on shore. While in France, James retired to bury the remembrance of his greatness in the convent of la Trappe.

In the mean time, Lewis had arrived at his camp in Flanders, attended by his women, his band of music, his dancers, his opera, and by all the ministers of luxury and pleasure; and having reviewed his army, which amounted to 120,000 men, laid siege to Namur, which he took within seven days after the trenches were opened, the garrison retiring into the citadel; and, on the 20th of May, the citadel itself capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of king William: after which Lewis returned in triumph to Versailles.

To add to the joy of the French, marshal Boufflers soon after gained the battle of Steenkirk, in which king William commanded in person. In this action, the confederates lost the earl of Angus, general M'Kay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, with about 3000 men left dead on the spot, and a like number was wounded or taken, with many colours and standards, and several pieces of cannon. The French lost the prince of Turenne, many other officers of distinction, and about 3000 men.

In 1693, William had the misfortune to lose the battle of Landen, in which the confederates lost sixty pieces of cannon, nine mortars, a great number of standards and colours, with about 7000 men killed and wounded in the action.

tion. The French, commanded by the duke of Luxemburg, were much superior in number; and to this the loss of the battle is said to be chiefly owing. In this battle the allies fought with great bravery; and William made prodigious efforts of courage and activity, to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was present in all parts of the battle; he charged in person, both on horseback and on foot, in places of the greatest danger. His peruke, the sleeve of his coat, and the knot of his scarf, were penetrated by three musket-balls, and he saw a multitude of soldiers fall on every side of him. The loss of the French, in officers and men, exceeded that of the allies, and they reaped no solid advantage from the battle.

Luxemburg being soon after rejoined by Boufflers with a strong reinforcement, invested Charleroy, which was defended by the garrison from the 10th of September to the 11th of October, when the governor capitulated on the most honourable conditions. This concluded the campaign in the Netherlands, and both armies went into winter quarters.

The French army on the Rhine had passed that river under de Lorges, in the month of May, and invested the city of Heidelberg, which they took, plundered, and reduced to ashes. This general committed innumerable barbarities in the Palatinate. The French soldiers, actuated by the most brutal inhumanity, butchered the inhabitants, violated the women, plundered the houses, rifled the churches, broke open the electoral vault, and scattered the ashes
of

of that illustrious family about the streets. They stripped about 15,000 of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, and drove them naked into the castle, that the garrison might be the sooner induced to capitulate; and when they were set at liberty, in consequence of the castle's surrendering, great numbers of them died with cold, hunger, and grief. These cruelties, which would have disgraced the arms of the most savage barbarians, were acted by the express command of Lewis XIV.

The allies were no less unfortunate in Piedmont, where the duke of Savoy, after a desperate engagement, was defeated by Catinat. In this battle the confederates yielded only to superior numbers, and the victory was dearly purchased by the French.

The loss at sea was also very considerable. The king had ordered the admirals to use all possible dispatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect commerce which had severely suffered from the French privateers. But they were so dilatory, that the squadrons of the enemy sailed from their harbours before the English fleet could put to sea. On the 6th of June, Sir George Rooke was sent to the Streights, with a squadron of twenty-three ships, to convoy near four hundred merchantmen into the Mediterranean: but while he was separated from the main fleet, which should have convoyed the merchant ships till out of danger, he was attacked; and though he made a most desperate defence, was at last overpowered

ered by numbers. Three Dutch men of war, with one English, and near eighty merchant ships, were taken, burned, or sunk; and the loss sustained on this occasion is said to have amounted to a million sterling. The French admirals afterwards made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar. They then sailed along the coast of Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon.

Another effort to annoy the enemy was made in November, when commodore Benbow sailed from England with a squadron of twelve capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to St. Maloes, which they bombarded for three days successively; and taking advantage of a dark night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, sent in a fire-ship of a particular construction, called the Infernal, in order to burn the town; but she struck upon a rock at some distance; and the engineer set her on fire, and retreated. She continued burning for some time, and at length blew up with such an explosion, as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed three hundred houses, threw down the greatest part of the wall towards the sea, and broke all the glass and earthen ware for three leagues round. A capstan, that weighed two hundred pounds, was thrown into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground; and the inhabitants were in such consternation, that St. Malo's might have been taken without resistance, had
this

this event been properly seconded by a small body of troops. The sailors, however, demolished a fort, and did considerable damage to the town, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce.

The ill success of the army and fleet during this summer, filled the nation with the greatest discontent. The people did not scruple to say, that the councils of the nation were betrayed, and that the French were previously acquainted with all the motions of the English, and, accordingly, took their measures for their destruction. They particularly exclaimed against the marquis of Caermarthen, the earls of Nottingham and Rochester, who, from their hatred to the whigs, were charged with betraying their country.

The king, on his return to England, found it necessary to make some changes in the ministry, the earl of Nottingham, who was most odious to the people, was dismissed from his post of secretary of state, and from the council, and the earl of Shrewsbury was chosen in his room, and advanced to the title of duke of Shrewsbury; while the earl of Mulgrave was created marquis of Normanby. Soon after the marquis of Caermarthen was made duke of Leeds, the earl of Bedford, duke of Bedford; the earl of Devonshire, duke of Devonshire; and Sydney, lord Godolphin, was named first commissioner of the treasury.

Among the bills brought into the house of commons, none engaged the attention of the public more than one for a general naturaliza-
tion

tion of all foreign Protestants. The advocates for this measure alledged, that the strength of a nation consists in the number of its inhabitants: that the people were thinned by war, and other causes, and required an extraordinary supply: that great number of Protestants, persecuted in France and other countries, would gladly remove to a land of freedom, and bring with them their wealth and manufactures: that the community had been richly repaid for the protection granted to those refugees who had settled in the kingdom; by their having introduced several new manufactures, promoted industry, and lowered the price of labour, a circumstance of the utmost importance to trade. On the other hand, it was objected, that foreigners being admitted into the privileges of the British trade, would grow wealthy at the expence of their benefactors, and transfer the fortunes they had gained into their native country: that the real design of the bill was to give such an accession of power to the dissenters, as would render them upon a level with those of the church of England; and that all offices would be conferred upon Dutchmen, who would become Lord Danes, and prescribe the modes of religion and government. The bill was therefore thrown out, after it had raised such a flame among the people, as had not happened since the revolution.

On the 3d of May, 1694, admiral Russel sailed from St. Helens, with the combined fleets of England and Holland, amounting to ninety ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships,

ships, and tenders. Ruffel detached captain Pritchard of the Monmouth, with two fire-ships, to destroy a fleet of merchantmen near Conquet-bay; and he burned or sunk thirty-five out of fifty-five, and also the men of war who convoyed them. Lord Berkeley afterwards made an unsuccessful attack upon Brest. But this was soon followed by his bombarding Dieppe, and reducing the greatest part of the town to ashes. After this he steered to Havre de Grace, which met with the same fate. The French troops on the shore were extremely harassed, the whole coast alarmed, and every town filled with such consternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had they not been detained by military force. In the mean time admiral Ruffel, with the grand fleet, sailed for the Mediterranean; and being joined by the Spanish fleet, steered towards Barcelona, which was besieged by the French fleet and army. At his approach Tourville retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon; and Noailles abandoned the siege of Barcelona. The Spanish affairs were in so deplorable a situation, that without this timely assistance, that kingdom would have been undone. While Ruffel continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral did not dare to appear at sea; and all his projects were disconcerted.

Though there was no action worthy of note in Flanders, yet the allies were successful in preventing the designs of the French in that

country ; and towards the end of the campaign, they took the town and castle of Huy.

On the 28th of December 1694, queen Mary died of the small-pox, about a month after the death of that excellent prelate archbishop Tillotson, whose loss she lamented with many tears. Her death gave inexpressible grief to the king and the nation. She expired in the 33d year of her age, and the sixth of her reign. Her person was tall and well proportioned : she had an oval face, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her judgment solid, and her memory tenacious. She was a zealous Protestant, and was distinguished by her undissembled piety, her extensive charity, the evenness of her temper, and the mildness of her conversation. Her conjugal affection seems to have been the ruling principle of her life ; she paying an exact obedience to the will of her husband. Her regard for the Protestant religion, and for the liberties of the nation, made her think it necessary, and consequently lawful and justifiable, to fill the vacant throne of her father.

While the commons were employed in examining the state of the revenue, the inhabitants of Royston presented a petition, complaining, that the officers and soldiers of colonel Hastings's regiment, which was quartered upon them, exacted subsistence money, on pain of military execution. Upon this the house was immediately kindled into a flame ; and it was unanimously resolved, that such a practice

was

was arbitrary, illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of the subject. Tracy Pouncefort, agent for the regiment, was committed to the Tower for refusing to answer the questions demanded by the house. Edward Pouncefort, his brother, was also sent to the Tower for defrauding that regiment of 500 guineas, and for giving a bribe to obtain the king's bounty; as was also Henry Guy, a member of the house, and secretary of the treasury, for taking a bribe of 200 guineas. The house then addressed the king to remedy the grievance: upon which his majesty cashiered colonel Hastings; appointed a council of officers to sit weekly, in order to examine all complaints against officers and soldiers; and published a declaration for the maintenance of strict discipline, and the due payment of quarters.

The commons then fell upon the contractions for cloathing the army, and brought in a bill for obliging James Craggs, Richard Harnage, and the two Pounceforts, to discover how they disposed of the sums paid into their hands, on account of the army, and for punishing them, in case they should not make such discovery. They also received a petition against the commissioners for licensing hackney and stage-coaches; and his majesty being addressed to remove three of them for having received bribes, acted arbitrarily and contrary to the trust reposed in them, the king accordingly removed them.

But the affair which made the most noise, was several large sums having been given to

members of parliament, to promote the bill for satisfying the debts due to the orphans of London, and for the East India company's obtaining a new charter, and an act to confirm it, in opposition to a new company that was going to be erected. Upon this occasion, a committee was appointed to inspect that company's books, and those of the chamberlain of London. The commons resolved, that Sir John Trevor, their speaker, who had received a thousand guineas on the passing the orphan's bill, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, and was expelled the house; and an act was passed for imprisoning Sir Thomas Cook, Sir Basil Firebrais, Charles Bates, and James Craggs; and for restraining them from alienating their estates. The commons likewise drew up articles of impeachment against the duke of Leeds, for agreeing with the merchants trading to the East Indies for 5500 guineas, to procure them a charter of confirmation, and a charter of regulation. But Robert, his grace's servant, who had received the money of Mr. Bates, going off, it never came to a trial.

The king, after he had prorogued the parliament, appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence; but as neither the princess of Denmark nor her husband was entrusted with any share in the administration, it gave offence to a considerable part of the nation.

William then went abroad, and distinguished the campaign of 1695, by the reduction of
Namur,

Namur. Marshal Boufflers had thrown himself into it with a strong reinforcement, which augmented the garrison to 15,000 chosen men: the French, since its last reduction, had made such additional works, that both the town and citadel seemed impregnable, and it was furnished with provisions for several months; yet king William having opened the trenches on the 11th of July, carried on the siege with such vigour and conduct, even in the sight of a numerous French army under marshal Ville-roy, who had advanced to relieve it, that the town surrendered on the 6th of August, and the castle in less than a month after.

William, on his return to England, was received as a conqueror, amidst the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. He immediately assembled his council, in which it was resolved to summon a new parliament, to meet on the 22d of November. In this parliament an act was passed for calling in the silver coin, which had been reduced by clipping, and 1,200,000 l. was granted for making good the deficiency. The king also gave his assent to an act for regulating trials, in cases of treason and misprision of treason, which was of great advantage to the liberties of the subject. By this act it was determined, that persons indicted for those crimes, should be furnished with a copy of their indictment five days before their trials, and indulged with counsel to plead in their defence: that no person should be indicted but upon the oaths of two lawful witnesses, swearing to overt-acts; and that persons indicted

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for treason should be supplied with copies of the pannel of the jurors, two days at least before the trial.

In the beginning of the year 1696, a double plot was discovered to assassinate the king, and invade the kingdom. Many of the adherents of the late king came over from France, and held consultations with the Papists and Non-jurors on the murder of king William; and after several debates on the time, place and manner of executing their horrid design, they at last agreed to assassinate his majesty on some day in February, as he returned from hunting, in a lane between Bedford and Turnham-green. But the whole plot was happily discovered by Pendergrafs, the very night before it was to have been executed. It was confirmed by de la Rue, another of the conspirators, and afterwards by captain Porter, and others, who came in upon the proclamation for apprehending the conspirators. At the same time there was to have been an invasion from France; for which purpose James was come to Calais; and the troops, artillery, and stores, were immediately ordered to be embarked; but by the news of the miscarriage of the assassination plot, and by the speedy sending of a formidable fleet under admiral Russel, the whole design was frustrated.

On the 21st of February, the king, in a speech to both houses, informed the parliament of the discovery of the plot, and explained the steps he had taken to defeat the double design; and the same evening both houses addressed his majesty,

majesty, to congratulate him on his preservation. The house of commons also drew up and subscribed an association to stand by each other, in defence of his majesty's person and government, against the late king James and all his adherents. The lords also agreed to the same association; and the example of the two houses was followed by all the corporations in the kingdom. Several of the conspirators fled beyond sea; and of those who were apprehended, Charnock, King, and Keys, were executed on the 18th of March: Sir John Friend, and Sir William Perkins, on the 3d of April following: brigadier Rookwood, major Lowick, and Mr. Cranbourn, on the 29th. Some time after Sir John Fenwick was apprehended for that part of the plot relating to the invasion. His case was somewhat remarkable: for having spirited away one of the witnesses against him, and endeavoured to do the same by captain Porter, the other witness, an act of attainder was passed against him, and he was beheaded on the 28th of January following.

Before king William went abroad, in 1696, he appointed the great officers of the state for the time being, with other lords and gentlemen, among whom the celebrated Mr. Locke was one, to be commissioners for trade and plantations. This was the first commission of the kind, and is still kept on foot.

The campaign in Flanders passed this year without any action. The French continued on the defensive; and both armies suffering equally for want of pay, spent the time in watching

watching each other, and in endeavouring to possess the most convenient places for subsistence. Indeed France, as well as England and Holland, began to be weary of the war, and to entertain serious thoughts of peace; for which the French king had already made some overtures. Mean while the duke of Savoy was drawn in to conclude a separate peace with France.

In the beginning of the year 1697, Sir John Sommers, who had been for some time lord-keeper, was made lord-chancellor: lord Sommers, baron of Eversham, and admiral Russel, created earl of Orford.

William having made these promotions, and appointed a regency, embarked again for Holland, in order to be at hand to manage the negotiation for a general peace. The French, to bring down the demands of Spain, besieged and took Aeth in Flanders, and also the city of Barcelona, in Spain. The king of England and the States-General, who had borne the principal burthen of the war, seemed to connive at these conquests, in order to bring Spain the more readily to accept the offers of France, as they knew these places must be restored by the peace; the treaty for which went on slowly at Ryswick, a place between the Hague and Delft, belonging to king William; but at last, by his majesty's address, and the king of Sweden's mediation, it was concluded and signed there by the English, Dutch, and Spanish plenipotentiaries, with those of France, on the 10th of September, and by the ministers of the emperor

emperor on the 20th of October, with as much advantage to the allies as could reasonably be expected.

About this time Peter, czar of Muscovy, resolving to visit foreign countries in disguise, for the improvement of his own dominions, had an interview with king William in Holland, where he had engaged himself as a common labourer with a ship-carpenter, whom he served for some months with wonderful patience and assiduity. He afterwards followed the king into England, where he chiefly amused himself in learning the principles of ship-building. The czar, who, though a powerful prince, had thus stooped to undergo the fatigue of manual labour, to set an example to his subjects, and to carry the art of ship-building into his own country, on his leaving England, set out for Vienna, where, receiving advice from his dominions, that intrigues were carrying on against his government, he suddenly returned to Moscow, where he found the designs of the conspirators already baffled, by the vigilance of those to whom he had left the care of the administration.

William, on his opening the session of parliament, mentioned the war being brought to a happy conclusion; but told them there was a considerable debt, on account of the fleet and army. He recommended the maintenance of a considerable navy; and gave it as his opinion, that for the present, England could not be safe without a standing army; and he assured them, that as he had rescued their religion,
laws,

laws, and liberties, when they were in the extremest danger, so he would place the glory of his reign in preserving and leaving them entire to the latest posterity. The commons congratulated the king upon the conclusion of the peace, and professed their readiness to assist and support his majesty, who had now confirmed them in the quiet possession of their rights and liberties. But after long debates, voted, that all the forces raised since the year 1680, should be disbanded, but that 350,000 l. should be allotted for the maintenance of 10,000 men. The king was extremely mortified at this. However, to shew some regard to his majesty, they voted, that 700,000 l. per annum should be granted to him, for the support of the civil list, distinct from all other services.

During this session the new East-India company was established, the merchants having agreed to advance 2,000,000 l. to the government at eight per cent. The old company offered to raise 700,000 l. at four per cent. but this was rejected; though it was continued a corporation, and the two companies were afterwards united. This parliament continued sitting till the 5th of July 1698, when it was prorogued, and two days after dissolved.

The new parliament met on the 6th of December following. The king again earnestly expressed his desire of having a good body of land forces kept up, yet the commons resolved, that all the land forces exceeding 7000 for England and 12,000 for Ireland, all of them his majesty's natural born subjects, should be forthwith

forthwith paid and disbanded. This giving the king inexpressible uneasiness, he sent a message to the house of commons, requesting, as a personal favour to himself, that his regiment of Dutch guards, the companions of all his dangers and glories, should not be obliged to leave him. The commons refused his request, which, at first, threw him into such a rage, that he threatened to abandon the government; and, in the heat of his resentment, is said to have drawn up a speech to be pronounced to both houses upon that occasion: but his ministry diverted him from this purpose; and when the bill was ready for the royal assent, he went to the house of peers, where, having sent for the commons, he told them, that tho' he might think himself unkindly used in being deprived of his guards, which had constantly attended him in all his actions; yet as he was sensible, that nothing could be more fatal to the nation than any distrust or jealousy between him and his parliament, he was come to pass the bill according to their desire. Both the lords and commons thanked him in their addresses, and he immediately issued orders for reducing the army to 7000 men; then hoping, that the hearts of the commons were mollified, he made another effort in favour of the Dutch guards, and sent lord Ranelagh with a written message to the commons, that the necessary preparations were made for transporting the guards who came with him into England, and that they should embark immediately, unless, out of consideration for him, the house should

be disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in the service; an expedient which his majesty would take very kindly. But all his endeavours were fruitless. Their opposition in an affair of such little consequence to the nation, was surely an ungrateful return for the deliverance they had received from him, and for the blessings they enjoyed under his equitable reign, and had more the appearance of a rude obstinacy, than of genuine patriotism.

END OF THE TWELFTH VOLUME.